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GERMAN PROTESTANTISM IN DIALOGUE WITH THE WORLD
(The Development and Significance of the German Evangelical Academy)

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PREFACE

Neither the local congregation nor the older institutions of the Church are ends in themselves. If they no longer are the basis for the growth of new Christian communities, they have failed in their calling.

It would be completely misleading if the old and the new forms of the congregation were placed in opposition. The devotedness of the former in serving "true" Christians is as much deserving of critical attention as the courage to try new ways of leading men to the Church, if God so provides and wills, and to establish new colonies in the virgin forest and steppes of modern society. Both are the necessary result of the essence and task of the Church: to be both old and young, to live out of the traditions of the past centuries and yet to be completely in the present and to belong to the future.

Wendland, *Die Kirche in der Modernen Gesellschaft*, p. 211.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The events of recent decades have deeply shaken the Protestant community in Europe. The social, political, and economic upheavals of this period have caused many Christians to reflect soberly on the Church's failure to penetrate the various levels of modern society with her message. Out of this self examination has emerged a theological renaissance stressing the "rediscovery of the Word" which has given new vigor and substance to the preaching of the Church. The recovery of the essential message of the New Testament came at a critical moment for the beleaguered pastors in Europe. Christians who faced the ideological and political wars in Europe owe a great debt for this timely buttressing of their faith to the initiators of this new theological life. It was also recognized during this period that the needed renewal of the Church must move beyond the reshaping of her theology and preaching. Such a reforming of the Church must also include the social character and structure of the Christian witness and community. The message of the Church needed to be wrested free not only from alien ideologies but also from those traditional social forms which hindered the dynamic resurgence of a revived Christian community.

The sociological dimension of the Church's life has usually been regarded by theologians as a question of the second order. But in the face of a restless and rapidly changing industrial society this aspect of the Church's life and witness has received increasing attention. There is new appreciation of the fact that the social forms which the Church adopts are of critical importance in allowing the Gospel to realize its full impact and meaning in modern life. The purpose of this study is to contribute to the discussion of this socio-theological question.

The failure to recognize the sociological dimension of the Church's life is illustrated in ~~the dilemma of the~~ preacher of the "theology of the Word." He has been given a powerful prophetic message by which to combat the demonic forces threatening the Church and by which to call for a renewal of the Church in the face of encroaching secularism, but at the same moment he feels himself increasingly isolated from the main stream of the rapidly changing society about him. The message he thunders at his faithful hearers has little apparent effect upon the world from which the small community of believers seems peculiarly removed. If he does exercise some critical self judgment he soon realizes that he and his fellow preachers have failed remarkably to communicate to the average citizen of this new world. The modern preacher finds himself embarrassed in this unique missionary situation in which he brings an old message to a new world.

In the midst of industrial and social changes attention must be given to the form of the Christian community and the methods it employs to proclaim its message. The present forms may have been effective in the past, but the society which the Church confronts today has undergone momentous changes. In order to regain significant contact with this new complex and highly differentiated social order the Church must find new patterns of life and witness. A new form of the Church is needed. Theological discussion of the nature of the Church as well as a careful analysis of the structure of the society in which the Church seeks to be relevant will provide the main outlines of the new form of the Church. However, much of the new profile of the Church will be determined by the experiments of pioneering groups in this area. In the Protestant churches of Europe where the traditional forms of the Church have been subjected to particularly severe criticism a number of significant attempts are being made to create new patterns of Christian life both within and outside the structure of existing churches. These innovations range from monastic groups to loosely organized circles which discuss theological and social issues.[1]

One of the oldest of these centers of renewal is located in Sigtuna, Sweden, where retreats and study courses are held regularly to bring the Church into conversation with those groups overtly opposed to Christianity. The policy of freedom and frankness has made the work at Sigtuna stimulating and fruitful. In Scotland a community has arisen out of the ruins of the ancient abbey of Iona. Here a program of manual work, worship, and study is being carried on to equip a small but elite group of dedicated clergy and laity to give vital expression to their faith in their varied occupations. There are a number of small but significant communities in France. Types of Protestant "orders" are being attempted at Villermettrie and Taize-les-Cluny. Similar work among women is being done at Pomeyrol through a program of retreats. Another center at Essertines, France, works with occupational groups. In Holland the institute "Kerk-en-Wereld" has developed a unique adult Christian education and recruitment program in an effort to renew the Church through trained laity. The Zoe Brotherhood in Greece is a similar venture of the Greek Orthodox Church. Its work is centered around a remarkable publishing house operated by theological students. The Swiss are also engaged in such programs toward the reshaping of the Church. The "Reformed House" in Baldern and other centers in Gwatt, Leuenburg, and Ruedlingen are examples of this movement toward a new form of the Church.

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[1] For a survey of these new forms see Signs of Renewal (2d ed. rev.; Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1957).

These are only a few of the many experiments in new patterns of Christian community life and witness that are being attempted throughout the Church today. None, however, has attracted such attention as the centers established by the Protestant Church in Germany since the Second World War. These places of retreat, discussion, meditation, and community are known as Evangelical Academies. To them come men and women from all areas of German society for conferences lasting from a few days to several weeks. There is hardly a question touching the public and private life of German society with which these centers have not dealt. Here to a degree unknown in modern German history a genuine encounter is taking place between the Protestant Church and all areas of German life. This conversation has forced the Church to see herself anew through the critical eyes of those she encounters in the Academy from outside her borders. She is continually being reminded of her failures in the past and her present embarrassment in reaching the many separate segments of modern life with her message. To refer to these centers as places of retreat is somewhat misleading. They represent no monastic withdrawal from the world, but rather a conscious attempt to engage in unrestricted conversation with representatives of all areas of German society. This dialogue between the Church and the world represents the efforts of German Protestantism to find new and effective forms through which the Church can make significant contact with modern life.

The Evangelical Academy has been defined as the answer of the Protestant Church "to the questions directed to her since the capitulation and during the period of fresh self-evaluation concerning the order of society for the community and the individual."[1] The answer to these questions called for critical evaluation of the Church's traditional forms. There were some who argued that a complete break with the past social history of the Church was necessary.[2] Others felt that a reformation of the social structure of the Church would suffice. As the first Reformers had sought to "free the Gospel" from the restrictions of the Medieval Church, so it was urged that the Church in this generation should free the Gospel from the outmoded and incarcerate social forms which prevented a full encounter of the Gospel and the modern world.

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[1] Adolf Wischmann, "Akademien," Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon, ed. Heinz Brunotte and Otto Weber (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1956), I, 61.

[2] This point has been recently elaborated by the well-known German sociologist, Helmut Schelsky, in an article entitled, "Ist die Dauerreflektion institutionalisierbar?" in Evangelische Ethik, I (July, 1957), 155. Schelsky argues that the task of the Church "is to create fresh ground for her eternal truth in today's vastly altered and increasingly autonomous social structure. . . . In order to find a new social form for the truth of redemption in this alienated and autonomous world and its social structures there is required a serious consideration of these social forms, their

A great deal of this "freeing of the Gospel" had been accomplished by the work of such theologians as Karl Barth previous to the Second World War. The sharp distinction made by this group of theologians between the human and the divine did give the Church the fundament upon which to preserve her message from being dissolved in Nazi ideology. However, this thrust toward the unconditional and the absolute tended to obscure the Church's legitimate concern with the world. All secular activities of the Church, all attempts to find some point of contact with modern secular life became suspect. Those who argued, for example, for a more "this-worldly" responsibility of the Church on the basis of the doctrine of creation were frequently charged with weakening the position of the Church. However, these theologians did press an important Biblical insight. The Christian does not belong to this world, that is this world does not possess him, but in his exalted position as God's adopted son the Christian does possess the world.[1]

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acceptance in a given social situation, and even a break of Christendom and the Church with their own social past. It appears to me that this change has already begun to take place in the last decades. Sociologically this can be described as 'the adaptation of religion and Christianity to modern society.'" Ibid.

[1] Cf. Friedrich Gogarten, Verhaengnis und Hoffnung der Neuzeit (Stuttgart: Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag, 1953), pp. 195-96.

When the Christian claims the world as his possession he frees it from the demonic and makes it possible for the world to realize its true worldliness as God's creation. The Christian is thus uniquely responsible for the world.[1] "If the Church were to cease by prayer and teaching to bring healing to the world, then everything would be destroyed in a moment."[2]

A return to the "preaching of the Word" does not and should not mean a movement away from the secular to the so-called "sacred."[3] On the contrary, a deepened understanding of the Biblical message reveals a healthy concern for and participation in the world. The dichotomy of "secular" and "sacred" is foreign to Biblical thought. Such an absolute distinction destroys the ground on which the Church can meet the world. The Church's message must be freed from such a false concept if it is to be properly related to all areas of life.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[2] Martin Luther, Ausgewaehlte Werke (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1952), 43, 665. Hereinafter this volume will be referred to as W.A. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

[3] "Secular" is used in this study in two different ways. I shall denote the "improper" and "proper" sense of the word by placing the former in quotations. Thus "secular" refers to what Paul Tillich means by "autonomous rejection." Cf. Tillich, Systematic Theology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), I, 208. Heinz-Dietrich Wendland speaks of "secular" in this sense as "radical" or "false" worldliness to describe the view that the world finds its meaning and foundation in itself. In contrast to this view he uses the term "legitimate profanity" to refer to the healthy de-demonizing of the world through Christ's victory. Cf. Wendland, Die Kirche in der Modernen Gesellschaft (Hamburg: Furche Verlag, 1956), p. 51. A similar distinction is made by Gogarten in speaking of the two types of secularization. According to him "secularism" refers to the "perversion of the world in futility and instability under the kingdom of the 'princes of this world.'" Gogarten, op. cit., pp. 23-24. Secularization in the positive sense refers to the Christian assertion that the world is only the world, that it is simply God's creation. Cf. Gogarten, Die Kirche in der Welt (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1948), p. 127.

The Biblical doctrines of creation and the Incarnation (the "becoming flesh" of the Word) give the Christian positive appreciation for the secular.[1] The Christian's reaction to the world is not flight from it but the declaration that it is secular, that it is not autonomous but completely subordinate to and dependent on God. This is the basis of the Protestant "yes" to the world.[2] The Church's relation to the secular (the profane, that which stands before the holy) is one of the most critical questions of our day, for it is in this penultimate realm that the Church is called to a responsible existence.[3] Unless the Church's life and message makes contact with the changing contours of modern life she will fail in her mission. The Church must deal with the concrete reality of the secular and avoid sterile preoccupation with the abstract and imagined. The responsibility of the Church in proclaiming the Christian Gospel lies not in pious day dreaming or obscure monologues, but in invading the world, in becoming involved in the secular. The Church must seek contact with the world. She must seek divine-human encounter. In order to achieve this in the modern world a new form of the Church must be found.

Such a contact between the Church and modern society is not possible when forms are used which were shaped by a social milieu that no longer exists. In every age the Church must seek forms of community and witness which make possible a genuine encounter of the divine and human, of God and man. Such an encounter is impossible where the Church's existence is confined either to the "sacred" and "churchly" or to the "secular." A new form of the Church must be found which overcomes this dichotomy. The task facing the Church today is to find "new forms of the congregation in the world or in other words a secular Christianity in which the working tools and social structures of today are placed in the service of the Church."[1] In the Evangelical Academy such a form of the Church has been found. The Academy has established a bridgehead to overcome the separation of the Church and the world.

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[1] Cf. Oskar Hammelsbeck, Die Veraenderte Weltsituation des modernen Menschen als religioeses Problem (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1955), p. 30.

[2] Ibid., p. 53.

[3] Ibid., p. 39. Concerning the realm of the penultimate see Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Ethik, ed. Eberhard Bethge (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1953), pp. 79-85.

Perhaps nowhere in the Protestant Church have tho restrictions on the Gospel in terms of theological obscurantism and traditional forms come under such criticism as in Germany during the past decades. In other countries where the conflict between the Church and "secular" forces has been less overt the impact of the isolation of the Church from the main stream of national life has not been so apparent. But in Germany the events of the recent past have made it impossible for the Church to ignore the need for a reforming of the Church. Radical questions have been asked of the German Church in the face of radical threats. The Evangelical Academies have emerged because of the acute need for a new form of the Church on the German scene. It represents a bold attempt to break fresh ground in reshaping the German Church. This work has required courage and faith in venturing out along the outer edges of the Church where she confronts the world. There is the danger that in such bold maneuvering on the frontier contact can easily be lost with the center of the Christian faith. An uncritical acceptance of the world is one of the constant perils of this pioneer work.[1] The Evangelical Academy is a venture. It is the growing edge of the Church where a new form is taking shape which is relevant to the social structure of modern life.

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[1] Heinz-Dietrich Wendland, Die Kirche in der Modernen Gesellschaft (Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1956), p. 208.

What is taking place in the Evangelical Academy is a process that must occur in every generation if the Church is to have a role in shaping the world. The Church cannot responsibly exist in isolation from the world she has been called to serve and transform. Simply to place the Church and the world in opposition leads to the destruction of the middle ground which is necessary for creative contact between the two. The social structure of the Church is of paramount importance in facilitating or obstructing the contact of the Church and the world. At a time when the Church finds herself isolated from the main stream of modern life, the concern of Christian social ethics must be to find points of contact with the social order. A new form of the Church such as is found in the Evangelical Academy is what is urgently needed to accomplish this.

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[1] Cf. Hanns Lilje, Kirche und Welt (Munich: Paul List Verlag, 1956), pp. 10-12. Lilje argues that a proper understanding of the Reformation concept of vocation safeguards against such false worldliness.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF THE EVANGELICAL ACADEMY

"The idea of the Evangelical Academy did not just occur to us, but lay in the air."[1] These words of a leading German theologian who has had a major role in the development of the Evangelical Academy suggest that the roots of the Academy are not to be found in any one time or place, but rather in a social awakening of the Church which has developed over a long period of time.[2] The great social changes accompanying the industrialization of Europe constituted a threat to the Church. With the increasing isolation of the Church from large areas of human activity came a decreasing influence of the Christian faith on the whole of modern life. We will trace the development of the Church's awareness of this problem in Germany and the early efforts to meet it. Our story of the background of the Evangelical Academy begins with the religious and social awakenings of the nineteenth century.

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[1] Helmut Thielicke, "Die Kirche in Deutschland," Tagesspiegel (Berlin), July 18, 1949. The name, "Academy," can be traced back to the Academy of Plato which was not an Academy in the modern sense, that is, a school for training professional philosophers, but rather a place of discussion where truth was sought through the corporate exchange of ideas. The Academy can also be traced to the resurrection of the Academic Platonica in Florence in the year 1444 by Count Medici. Cf. Erich Mueller-Gangloff, "Quatember und Evangelische Akademie," Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 127.

[2] The term, "Evangelical Academy" is used in the singular to refer to the Academies collectively. Where a specific Academy is meant the full name will be used.

Early Social-ethical Movements

Antecedents in the nineteenth century.--The Evangelical Academy has a unique relation to the spiritual awakenings of the nineteenth century. The first two Academies were established in the very locale of the two great centers of revival of the previous century. The health resort of Bad Boll, the home of the first Evangelical Academy, was already famous because of its connection with Johann and Christoph Blumhardt who had a great influence over the rise of religious socialism. Hermannsburg, the first location of the Loccum Academy, continues today to be a center of missionary activity and Christian training schools which were established during Ludwig Harms' great revival in the Lueneburg district. Here attempts were made to reshape the mission of the Church. As a result Hermannsburg became the center of great foreign missionary activity. Through the establishment of schools in Hermannsburg the influence of this fresh life in the Church can still be seen today in Germany.

Also from the nineteenth century came the influence of such reformers as Nikolai Grundtvig in Denmark and Erik Geijer in Sweden who established such predecessors to the Academy as the Danish folk schools and Sigtuna, the lay training center in Sweden. The latter has been in existence for over a generation seeking to accomplish aims very similar to those of the German Academies.[1] An even more direct influence on the Academy from the nineteenth century has come from the awakening of the social conscience of a few Church leaders during the great social upheavals of 1848. In that historic year Johann Hinrich Wichern gave a dramatic address at the Kirchentag in Wittenberg appealing to the Church to serve the needs of the proletariat. This address was in effect the Protestant reply to the Communist Manifesto.[1] Wichern was acutely aware of the isolation of the Church in his day from the working class as a result of the Church's traditional alignment with the aristocracy.

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[1] Manfred Bjorkquist, The Sigtuna Foundation (London: SCM Press, 1936).

As a result of these early stirrings a number of organizations concerned with discovering new forms of Christian life and witness were begun in the Protestant Church.

> Thus there developed in the area of the Church various occupational groups such as student and academic organizations, workers' associations and others as well as groups for those whose occupations prevented them from attending Sunday worship services. In keeping with the general attitude of the Church of the nineteenth century, these associations concerned themselves less with the question of the specific occupations and more with the question of how people in these professions might personally be brought closer to the Gospel in their present social and cultural situation. Their work was, with only few exceptions, purely evangelistic.[2]

One of the most significant movements to grow out of these groups was the Evangelical Social Congress (ESK). It originated in the work of the Evangelical Workers' Association in co-operation with concerned theologians, social economists, sociologists, Protestant employers, and others concerned with bringing the Church into a closer contact with modern society. Annual conferences were organized to bring together Christians representing various theological and political positions to discuss the crucial problems of the new industrial age. Such men as Adolph Stoecker, Ludwig Weber, Adolf Wagner, and Friedrich Naumann were among its leaders. The ESK published a quarterly called the Evangelisch-Sozial which sought to make the Church aware of the great social changes of the day. More systematic research was undertaken later through the establishment of the Protestant Social Institute in Leipzig.[1] The ESK came to a parting of the ways with some of its members in 1896, at which time another group calling itself the Church Social Conference was organized. Under the leadership of Rudolf Seeberg this group became well known for its work in the Johannesstift in Berlin-Spandau where young leaders of the Protestant labor union were trained. The ESK attained its highest point of influence under the leadership of Adlph von Harnack early in the twentieth century. He brought together capable theologians and other intellectuals as well as employers and union leaders to participate in the conferences. Since that time, however, the ESK has steadily declined in importance.[2] The failure of the ESK to maintain a leading role has been attributed to its primary concern with academic questions. Paul Tillich has made this observation about the ESK:

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[1] William Shanahan, German Protestants Face the Social Question (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1954), p.205.

[2] Eberhard Mueller, "Evangelische Akademien," Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1945-1948 (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1950), pp. 368-369.

> It is working more in the sphere of theory and from the viewpoint of liberal Protestantism. It has made many valuable

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[1] Ibid., pp. 360-61.

[2] Ludwig Heyde, "Evangelisch-Sozialer Kongress," Evangelisches Soziallexicon (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1954), p. 323.

> scientific contributions but it is suffering, even from the point of view of science, from the fact that it does not subject Protestantism itself and capitalistic society as a whole to fundamental criticism. It lacks the power of a hope for the future, of the consciousness of a real term in time which will put all things in question. Consequently it is working only too much in the realm of theory--which does no harm if the theory be good--but also without enthusiasm. It is too deeply immersed in the spirit of capitalistic society to be able to go beyond it.[1]

We shall see later how precisely at these points the Evangelical Academy has moved beyond the ESK.

The Inner Mission and the Apologetische Zentral.--The work of the Inner Mission, founded by Wichern, also has an important place in the pre-history of the Academy. Through its vast activities and great institutions it has been the symbol for many years of the social concern of the German Protestant Church. Of all the activities of the Inner Mission that which most closely approximated the work of the Evangelical Academy was the Institute for Social Ethics and Research established at the University of Berlin in 1927 under the leadership of Rudolf Seeberg.[2] Another of the activities connected with the Inner Mission which can be cited as a predecessor to the Evangelical Academy was the Apologetische Zentrale (Center for Apologetic Work) in Berlin Spandau. Here the attempt was made to come to grips with various ideologies and movements of the day. Much attention was given to free-thinkers and atheists. Lectures and discussions were held for men of various professions in the "lay school" courses held each spring and autumn at the Johannesstift. During the rise of National Socialism the Apologetische Zentrale played an increasingly important role under the able leadership of Carl Schweitzer. Reports of the research work on such topics as Marxism were printed in the quarterly, Wort und Tat (Word and Deed). Special work in the fields of medicine and theology was done by the Working Committee for Medicine and Theology.[1]

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[1] Paul Tillich, The Religious Situation (New York: Holt and Co., 1932), pp. 158-59.

[2] This institute published a number of works on such topics as: "Is Christian social ethics intellectually possible," "Religion and social welfare work," "Birth control," and "The social-ethical meaning of the decalogue." Cf. Adolph Stahl, "Innere Mission," Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1931, p. 283.

The close relationship of the Apologetische Zentrale and the Evangelical Academy has been noted by a number of persons active in the Academy. In a letter to the Hermannsburg Academy one of the men formerly associated with the Apologetische Zentrale cited this earlier work of collecting material about various religious movements as having been extremely important for the Church's fight against National Socialism. He wrote:

> Today [1948] there is no such place where this is being done and the Church is forced to face the conflict blindly. Because of the growth of sects, the religious issues in political parties and the completely unexamined character of our present Weltanschauung, it seems to me that such a work is again necessary . . . and should be undertaken now by the academy.[2]

In reviewing the growth of the Evangelical Academy two of the Academy directors have seen in the Apologetische Zentrale the forerunner of the Academy. Mueller-Schwefe refers to the work of the Territorial Office for Apologetics of the Westphalia Church with its retreats and courses as well as the Spandau program as the first roots of the Academy idea.[1] Eberhard Mueller says this of the Apologetische Zentrale:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 289-90.

[2] Letter from Pastor Janssen of the Stephansstift, Hannover, to the Hermannsburg Academy, December 6, 1948. (In the files of the Academy.)

> Already at the beginning of the Church struggle Carl Schweitzer had begun a remarkable practical attempt to meet this problem [National Socialism] with his Apologetische Zentrale in the Johannesstift in Berlin-Spandau. Until its closing by the State Secret Police this center carried on systematic research and penetration of ethical and religious problems arising within specific occupations. Through continuous courses as well as through the circulation of appropriate printed material it sought to bring into conversation with the Church not only members of the academic professions but also other segments of the population as well. Even if this work did not directly inspire the present Evangelical Academy, nevertheless, it did to a great extent prefigure the service the Evangelical Academy performs today. That the Apologetische Zentrale did not succeed to a greater extent is due to some degree to its not too fortunate name, but it is due perhaps to a greater degree to the unfavorable cultural and political situation of that time.[2]

Evangelical Weeks.--The theological awakening in the thirties in Germany and the conflict of the Church with National Socialism led to the organization of great Protestant meetings called "Evangelical Weeks." These consisted of a series of carefully prepared conferences in large cities, dealing with current social and theological questions. In these conferences the plea to renew the life of the Church could frequently be heard. At the Breslau Evangelical Week in 1936 Hanns Lilje declared,

> If one looks seriously at the situation in which the Church finds herself today, he sees a call for repentance and renewal. The Church in many ways is unequipped to meet the two great tasks of conversing with the state and with other religions.

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[1] Hans Mueller-Schwefe, "Sieben Jahre Evangelische Akademie," Zeitwende, Vol. XXIII (February, 1952).

[2] Mueller, loc. cit., pp. 369-70.

> If she is to fulfill her task she must be given new life and authority.[1]

The Evangelical Weeks became a center of the Church's resistance to the views of the National Socialists and were consequently forbidden by the state authorities in December, 1937. These meetings were conducted by the National Committee for the German Evangelical Weeks under the co-leadership of Reinhold von Thadden-Trieglaff and Paul Humburg with Eberhard Mueller as executive secretary. (After the war von Thadden-Trieglaff returned from army duty on the West Front to establish the now famous Evangelical Kirchentag movement and Mueller returned from the Russian Front to establish the first Evangelical Academy.) The most significant events in the history of this effort were the Evangelical Weeks held in Hannover (1935), Stuttgart (1936), and Dresden (1937).[2] Even after the police order banning these meetings in 1937, they were continued under another name. A conference was held in Stuttgart, for example, in the summer of 1938 under the disguised theme, "Days of Quiet and Meditation." In an address at a post-war Kirchentag one of the Academy leaders made this evaluation of the Evangelical Weeks:

> It was just in the midst of the totalitarian state and in the apparent unrestrained curtailment of the Church that we experienced the total God, or as we said then, "the Pantakrator Christus", Jesus Christ as the Lord of all areas of life--art, intellect, politics, education. Out of the

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[1] Hanns Lilje and Gerhard Schmidt, "Der Ruf der Kirche," Bekennende Kirche, XLIII (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1936), 15.

[2] The lectures given at these meetings were published by the Furche-Verlag, Berlin, under the following titles: Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit der Kirche (1935), Der Gott der Wahrheit (1936), and Der Heiland (1937).

> work of the Evangelical Weeks has grown today's Evangelical Academies and the great movement of the Kirchentag. Our task is to think through and to deepen the message of the old Evangelical Weeks.[1]

The Bad Kreuznach Academy.--A center was established in Bad Kreuznach by the Rhineland Church in 1933 which actually had the name "Evangelical Academy." The work was begun by Prior Forsthoff of the Central Office of the Rhineland Church who saw in the new National Socialist Movement an opportunity for the Church to play a vital role in German national life. Those who supported this program felt that the Church should take an active part in shaping the new Germany out of the unrest and confusion of that time. They also agreed that the language and message of the Church was strange to the people. Conferences were held to bring people from all areas of life into conversation with the Church. The Bad Kreuznach Academy, however, was strongly under the influence of National Socialist ideology. The concept of *Schoepfungsordnung* was related to the ideas of "Blood and Soil." The conference themes themselves indicate the approach of this work: "National Psychology," "The State and Church and their welfare work for the nation," "The Christian faith and Eugenics," "Protestant officials in the Third Reich," and "The Protestant concept of the State."[2] The work of this center lasted only one year. Although its ideology was quite different from that of the present Evangelical Academy, both its methods and concern to overcome the gulf between the Church and society in Germany were similar.

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[1] Guenter Howe in a lecture in Work Group I of the Hamburg Kirchentag, 1953. (In the files of the Loccum Academy. Mimeographed.)

[2] Hans Meyer, "Zehn Jahre Evangelische Akademien," *Kirche in der Zeit*, X (October, 1955), 222.

Protest Movements

The German Youth Movement.--The various new forms of community which developed in the early twentieth century as reactions to the dehumanizing influences of the rapidly expanding industrial society might also be cited as contributing to the emergence of the Evangelical Academy. Among these was the Youth Movement in Germany with its attempts to renew the sense of community and to regain the natural folkways of the old Romantic Movement. The Youth Movement grew out of a keen awareness of the breakdown of small, intimate, and natural communities under the impact of the industrial revolution. This new type of communal life and activity was an attempt to discover a form of meaningful existence in the modern world. As such it can be seen as a significant forerunner of the Academy.

The Elmau Retreat Center.--Very similar to the Youth Movement with its romantic tendencies and its intimate communities was the retreat center at Elmau established by the free-lance clergyman, Johannes Mueller. At his beautiful location in the Bavarian Alps he gathered men and women for relaxed holidays of physical and spiritual renewal. Through his magazine, Die Gruenen Blaetter, he propagated his philosophy of group living.

> Without being tied to any confession or creed, he strove to awaken a religion of freedom by insisting upon a return to the original, the natural, and the personal element of life. Standing as he did upon the outer rim of the Church circle, he could make a strong appeal to those who had lost all faith in the churches and who were wandering confused and trying to find some substitute. . . . His criticisms of religion, of

> ethics and of idealism were severe and pointed, and registered a revolt against all tendencies to live either in a dream world of fantasies or according to some legalistic code of morals.[1]

Johannes Mueller has also been described as a mystic who rebelled against capitalistic society.

> With his proclamation of the immediacy of life he opposed the naturalization and rationalization of reality in bourgeois philosophy as well as in eccleciastical theology. He sought to free the fountains of the inner life by removing the debris of things and he exercised a truly priestly effect on not a few members of the younger generation. He freed them of the burden of merely conceptual antithesis and gave religious life its own independent foundations. His conception of life, to be sure, remained finite and subjective so that it was impossible for this attack upon capitalistic society really to break through the lines of the finite.[2]

At Elmau a conscious effort was made to find a fresh approach in relating the religious life to the modern world. Although this attempt disassociated itself almost completely from the Church, it did succeed as a retreat center in providing an experience of community to many who had not found this either within or outside of the Church. It was this retreat experience at Elmau which has led Academy participants to suggest that Elmau is the nearest thing to the Academy that they had known in the past.[3]

The Berneuchen Circle.--The search for a deeper experience of community also had its effect upon the Church. The problem of community attracted increasing attention as the threat to the Church's way of life caused Christians to think soberly about the essential nature and structure of the Christian congregation. Experiments with new forms such as retreat meetings and the organization of discussion groups within various professions were undertaken by some to achieve a new sense of community within the Churches. Foremost among these attempts were the Berneuchen Conferences. These meetings grew out of the deep concern of some pastors and laity over the future of the Church in the face of the forces being marshalled against her. Some of these men were active in youth groups both within and outside the Church. They were alarmed by the fact that the post World War I young people had lost nearly all contact with the Protestant Church. Wilhelm Staehlin, one of the leaders of the Berneuchen Conferences, described the situation in this way:

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[1] Paul B. Means, The Things That Are Caesar's (New York: Round Table Press, 1935), pp. 110-11.

[2] Tillich, op. cit., p. 126.

[3] Interview with Hans Bolewski, director of the Evangelical Academy Loccum, September 17, 1956.

> We confronted a youth encircled by fundamental questions but without any solutions; yet hardly one of them thought of seeking such answers in the Church. At the same time we confronted a Church which was unable to fulfill her task to this youth because she hardly knew the actual situation they faced nor did she appreciate the extent to which these young people had been uprooted and tragically separated from the past. We felt ourselves to be profoundly bound to this post-war generation. In their experience of nature and in their community life these young people were, in their own way, grappling with the deepest questions of human life and seeking a genuine religious experience. But the Church with her totally obscure doctrines, her bourgeois way of life and worship had a *form* which made no contact with these youth.[1] [Italics mine]

This was the disturbing problem which a group of youth leaders faced at a conference held in the Angern Castle near Magdeburg in January, 1923. This meeting exemplified the crucial problem in the attitudes expressed there by many that the Church in her present form was completely helpless to do anything in this situation and must accept the fact that she had lost this generation. The expression of this feeling coupled with a certain romantic-revolutionary pathos among the youth disturbed some of these men deeply and led them to form a small group which met in May, 1923, at the Berneuchen estate near Neudamm. For the next five years annual meetings of this group were held there. The small nucleus grew rapidly from five or six to a group of laity and pastors representing nearly all theological and political viewpoints. Some were associated with members of the movement begun that same year by Rudolf Steiner and known as the Christengemeinschaft. But the members of the Berneuchen group, though pessimistic about the possibility of the Church meeting her responsibilities, had no intention of following Steiner's example of organizing a new movement outside of the Church. On the contrary they had a deep appreciation for the meaning of the Church and sought to reshape the Church in terms of her true and original nature. Their work consisted of common theological study, prayer, life, and action. They were confronted with specific tasks that had to be met and they discovered that a practical approach was more fruitful than the usual procedure in Germany of beginning with pure theory. The work and discussions of the Berneuchen Conferences centered around the problems of the Church's _martyria_ (witness), _leitourgia_ (worship), and _diakonia_ (service). The first conference began with questions of doctrine, authority, traditional forms and usage in worship, and the practical tasks confronting the Church of that day.[1]

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[1] Wilhelm Staehlin, *Berneuchen, Unser Kampf und Dienst fuer die Kirche* (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1939), p. 3.

The Berneuchen group sought to enlarge the area of its discussions and to introduce its views into the theological world with the publication in 1926 of the Berneuchener Buch. This volume precipitated considerable comment from the theologians who, for the most part, were critical of its ideas. Among those who affixed their name to this volume were Gottfried von Bismark, Gerhard Jacobi, Gerhard Ritter, Carl Bernhard Ritter, Carl Schweitzer, Wilhelm Staehlin, Paul Tillich, and Heinz-Dietrich Wendland. This book jolted Church leaders and theologians by bluntly noting certain facts about the Church and her isolation and impotence in a rapidly changing society. In the separation of the Church from modern life the authors saw telling proof of the failure of the Protestant Church. The following symptoms were cited:

> The Church's defensive position toward the successful advance of the Roman Church, the exodus from the Church and her indifference toward religious groups which were really active, the confessional struggle continually threatening her with inner division, her political uncertainty, the need for truly alive congregations, the problem of the Church's relation to the school and the teachers, her helplessness toward the difficult and economic conditions, the lack of pastors and young theological students, the obscurity of her forms of worship, and the questionable way the Church handles official business.[2]

In the German Protestant Church the writers of the Berneuchener Buch claimed there no longer existed even the spirit to reshape the Church and to give visible expression to the Word. The Church's stubborn preservation of archaic forms both in her architecture and in her life obscures the visible Word (*verbum visibile*).[1] The authors argued that according to the Reformer's understanding the Word of God had not been "frozen" in history. It is a dynamic power. The assurance that we retain the heritage of our fathers is not dependent on the maintaining of past forms but solely on the confession of the Christian faith which must be continually renewed out of a living tradition.[2]

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[1] Karl Ritter, "Berneuchen 1923," Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 90.

[2] Das Berneuchener Buch (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1926), p. 15.

The end result of the publication of the *Berneuchener Buch* was a wave of criticism of the Berneuchen group which led Staehlin to remark, "We learned then out of this painful experience that the need of the Church just as the need of a people cannot be overcome simply through literature, books, brochures or essays."[3] However, the Berneuchen group did seek to clarify its views through a series of publications such as the *Deutsche Dom* (collections of prayers and orders of worship), research articles by members of the group, *Kirche in Aufbau* (a series of publications on the spiritual situation of the Church), and the *Gottesjahr* (a periodical containing essays by members).

The most effective work of the Berneucheh group, according to Staehlin, was accomplished not by its publication, but in its experiments in new forms such as the retreats with their lectures, worship, discussions, singing, recreation, and quiet meditation. These retreats were held during the school holidays and usually lasted a week. They were organized in places where worship facilities and a quiet atmosphere were available, e.g. at the Urspringschule near Blaubeuren, the Westerberg in Westerwald, the Niederroedern near Dresden and at similar places in northern Germany. The participants in these retreats together with interested friends of this work were loosely organized in what was called the "Berneuchen Circle" and later the "Berneuchen Service." This association sought to revitalize the life of the Church by encouraging its members to take an active part in the local congregations. Contact was maintained through the newsletter, the "Michaelesbrief," and through annual retreats.

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[1] *Das Berneuchener Buch*, pp. 50 ff.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 131.

[3] Staehlin, *op. cit*., p. 8.

The Michael Brotherhood.--Within the Berneuchen Circle itself there developed an intimate group which was formally organized in 1931 into the Michael Brotherhood. They concerned themselves with the renewal of life within the Church. They were actually a type of Protestant Order with a definite rule of discipline, The rule stated, "In our work we look not at our own way nor seek our own glory. Even there where we act alone we know we are supported by our fellowship and in all decisions we seek the advice of the brethren."[1] The Michael Brotherhood sought to destroy all false individualism and yet to preserve the individual freedom of the Protestant believer. There were not only pastors in this group, but also physicians, merchants, engineers, and artists. All enjoyed an equal status. This Protestant "Order" took its name from the fighting Saint Michael and like him steeled itself by spiritual discipline to wage a "Holy War" against the demonic forces which threatened both the Church and the civil orders. From a nucleus of twenty one the Michael Brotherhood grew in seven years to 290 members. In addition, there were some ninety who belonged to the "Novitiate" or Young Brotherhood. Because of this growth the annual Michael Day meetings had to be held in several places in Germany.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

The relationship between the Berneuchen meetings, the Michael Brotherhood, and the Evangelical Academy goes beyond that of a mere similarity in technique and ideology. Not only did many of these same men play a major role in the development of the Evangelical Academy, but also much of the Berneuchen program was further developed in the work of the Academy. An entire issue of the quarterly publication of the Michael Brotherhood, Quatember, has been devoted to the Evangelical Academy. The editor, later to become director of the Academy in Berlin, described the Evangelical Academy as "in many ways a similar fresh innovation in the Church following the Second World War as was Berneuchen following the First World War."[1] This relationship has also been noted by other Academy leaders.[2]

Theological Discussions of the 1930's

The nature of the Church.--A brief survey of the theological literature of the same period described above--just preceding the Church's struggle with National Socialism--indicates that there was much concern with the form of the Church's life. The appearance of Otto Dibelius' book, Das Jahrhundert der Kirche (The Century of the Church), shortly after World War I caused considerable attention to be focused on the question of the Church.[1] His challenge to the Church began with his famous statement, "Since Luther's time the Church has not existed in Protestant Germany." Dibelius' contention was that with the organization of the Church by the Protestants the concept of the Church was lost.

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[1] Erich Mueller-Gangloff, Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 126.

[2] Cf., for example, Johannes Doehring, "Von Hermannsburg nach Loccum," Informationsblatt, II (December, 1953), 380.

> Regardless of what the text books of dogmatics had to say about the concept of the Church, the idea of the Church was dead. There was no longer a community of believers which reached over the land and sea. . . . It was true that between the theological faculties lively connections were maintained, but for the congregation the Church ended at her own borders, and for the Church government it ended at her territorial borders.[2]

According to Dibelius the Territorial Church governments (Landeskirchlichregementen) had too narrow a view of the scope of the Church and were too bureaucratic in their organizational structure to provide the dynamic necessary to keep the Church alive. "It became more and more as Adolf Harnack once said, 'Everything connected with the Church was so repressed in the life of the German Protestant laity that one was inclined to feel it presumptuous and in bad taste if on her own the Church would for once make herself felt in public by speaking out on an issue.'"[3]

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[1] Otto Dibelius, Das Jahrhundert der Kirche (Berlin: Furche Verlag, 1926).

[2] Ibid. (3d ed.; 1927), p. 29.

[3] Ibid., p. 30.

On the one hand, Dibelius saw the Church's structure as an enslaved bureaucracy which could no longer act vigorously or critically on social questions. On the other hand, he noted that the charismatic elements within the Church had been detoured into purely inner-churchly activities and prevented from vitalizing either the Church or society.

> So it has remained throughout the nineteenth century that where the overcoming of rationalism created more impulses and possibilities a pietistic way of life was organized. A whole world of institutions appeared such as those for deaconnesses and the crippled at Bethel, the Rauhe Haus, organizations for young Christians, and rescue missions. The sinful world, however, was left to itself. The pietistic pastor was concerned primarily for the inner circle (ecclesiola) of his congregation and not for the Church (ecclesia). All piety was viewed from the point of view of the individual personality. The individual should "edify" himself. Each one was individually converted. The pietist found his inner home in this world: not in the congregation in which he was born, but in the circle of like-minded and similarly converted persons with whom he shared a common language.[1]

Dibelius came to the conclusion that the Church must become a power in the social and national life of the German people if she is to effect the work of redemption. "The Church must so understand the spirit of love and justice that she wins the trust of those who are suffering under the pressure of the present order of the world."[2]

Many despaired at reshaping the institutionalized Territorial Churches and joined the free churches and sects. This movement had been noticeable since 1905. The annual report on the Church's gains and losses in 1909 stated, "The motive is nearly always given that the large congregations are no longer congregations in the Christian sense. A spiritual ministry and a brotherly community are what those who leave the established Churches are seeking; their decision is basically far less a dogmatic than a practical matter."[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 44.

[2] Ibid., p. 246.

In an attempt to recover the lost concept and reality of the Christian community, theologians undertook extensive theological research and discussion.[2] This discussion came to a climax in the debate between Karl Barth and Otto Dibelius touched off by the former's lecture at the University of Berlin on the "Need of the Protestant Church."[3] Dibelius answered in a lecture entitled, "The responsibility of the Church." Dibelius characterized Barth's position as based on the assumption that the Church can do nothing except hear the Word of God and faithfully propagate that which she has heard. But of herself the Church actually can do nothing. The Church must continually be under the Word which alone creates the tasks she is to perform. Against this view Dibelius argued:

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[1] Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1909, p. 329.

[2] A number of examples can be cited of this theological discussion. In the journal, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, in 1927 Friedrich Buechsel contributed an article entitled, "The Church as a community of love." Adolf Keller, whose book on American Church life (Dynamis: Formen und Kraefte des Amerikanischen Protestantismus, 1922) has been cited by several Evangelical Academy leaders as one source of inspiration for the Academy, wrote an article in 1928 entitled, "The essence and form of the Church community," which appeared in the Monatschrift fuer Pastoraltheologie. The same year Ferdinand Kattenbusch, professor of systematic theology at Halle, published his Reformation studies on the nature of the Church. In 1930 he reprinted his 1917 work, Die evangelische Kirchengedanken im Anschluss an Luther (The Protestant Concept of the Church with Reference to Luther). A year later Paul Althaus published the first volume of his Communio Sanctorum which dealt with Luther's concept of the Church and the congregation. The same year saw the appearance of Walter Buelik's Das Kirchen Problem der Gegenwart (The Church Problem Today), Dietrich Bonhoeffer's socio-theological study of the Church, Sanctorum Communio, Rademacher's Um Erscheinung und Wesen der Kirche (On the Appearance and Reality of the Church), Eduard Thurneysen's article in Zwischen den Zeiten, "Christus und die Kirche," and Heinz-Dietrich Wendland's article in Theologischen Blaettern, "The Christian Concept of Community." The next year brought Robert Winkler's systematic study, Das Wesen der Kirche (The Essence of the Church).

[3] Zwischen den Zeiten, IX (April, 1931), 89-117. Dibelius' reply appeared in the same issue, pp. 117-22.

> The New Testament view of the Church does not deal with the problem of the Church as finally being forced because of great need to undertake that which actually is someone else's responsibility. Rather its view is that the Church simply cannot exist other than to be actively serving the brethren. . . . It should be sufficient for us that according to the legitimate understanding of the Church in the New Testament in all cases the work of responsible and helpful love belongs to the essential nature of the Church. . . . The Church must proclaim the Gospel and must somehow create room for this proclamation. She must practice a spiritual ministry whereby the Word can win a place in men's hearts and she must perform the deeds of mercy which flow naturally from being a disciple of Christ.[1]

The social responsibilities of the Church.--Closely associated with the discussions dealing with the life and form of the Church was the deepening concern with the question of the social responsibilities of the Church. The literature of the early thirties shows the atmosphere of opinion existing at this time just previous to the violent years of church struggle which was to claim the complete attention of church leaders.[2] Friedrich Brunstaed in an article entitled, "The social task of the Church," argued that the Church is not the Church without social tasks.[1] The social responsibilities come out of the very nature of the Church in creating a living community. This community, however, is not merely the product of the fight against various social evils. According to Brunstaed the awareness of what the social problems are is rather the result of the establishment of a true Christian congregation. "The social will of the Church can only be a function of her missionary task: namely, that of being a witness to the faith."[2] Brunstaed anticipated the Academy's approach by calling for both expert knowledge coupled with a thorough allegiance to the Christian faith. He listed the social tasks of the Church as (1) the service of love in bearing a witness to God's mercy, (2) the struggle to achieve a new community, and (3) the theoretical and practical criticism of contemporary culture on the basis of the Christian faith. As long as God's work of creation and preservation continues, reasoned Brunstaed, so long the Church is faced with social responsibilities.

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[1] Dibelius quoted by Martin Schian in "Gemeinde und Gemeindeorganisation," Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1931, pp. 206-207.

[2] For much of this survey I am indebted to Heinz-Dietrich Wendland, "Die Soziale Arbeit der evangelische Kirche," Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1931, pp. 342-52.

Much of the discussion centered around the Christian understanding of love. The charitable work of the Church was given a strong theonomous interpretation by Anders Nygren in the first volume of his _Agape und Eros_ which appeared in 1930. Nygren placed great emphasis on the _agape_ basis of the Church community and its works of charity. Paul Althaus in his _Communio Sanctorum_ stressed Luther's understanding of _agape_ as rooted in his theology of the cross and indicated its implications for the character of the Christian community. Althaus saw the service of the Church as consisting first in the material assistance given to men, secondly in the ministry of teaching, consolation, and intercession, and thirdly, as the highest of all, in the bearing of our brother's weaknesses and in protecting him from sin.[1] Otto Piper in his book on Christian ethics argued that the picture of the ideal social order cannot be drawn directly from the concept of *agape*.[2] He proposed, rather, the concept of "love for the world" by which he meant a profound concern for the social orders which may or may not be helped by the practice of true *agape* deeds toward one's brethren. Piper pointed out the boundaries these two kinds of love (love for the world and *agape*) give to a social ethic, but he gave no objective basis upon which specific cases can be judged.

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[1] Cf. _Zeitwende_, Vol. I (May, 1930).

[2] _Ibid_.

The awareness of some theologians of the problems of modern society is reflected in the discussion of this time concerning the industrial society. The social and theological problems of the new technical age were given brilliant treatment by Hanns Lilje in a book published in 1928.[3] Alfred Dedo Mueller in an essay, "The problem of enjoying work in modern industry," (1930) saw in the emphasis on mass production the loss of creative meaning in human labor.[4] In its place is emerging an "autonomous realism" in the world of labor and social relations. According to Mueller man's work life has lost the theonomous dimension and as a result his work itself has lost its meaning and joy. "Viewing the total situation it is well for us to realize that the disorders evidenced in the loss of pleasure in one's work lie so deep and are so closely connected to the total convulsion of the conditions of our life that no emergency remedy will help."[1] Another article by S. Schoeffel asserted that the root of these social problems lies in man's rebellion, in his search for an autonomous existence, which has led to the "secularization" of life.[2] The soul has been removed from human labor profaning man's technical life and producing a thoroughly "secularized" proletariat. Both socialism and capitalism are rooted in this fundamental condition of man's rebellion and the Church, therefore, can give her final blessing to neither one of them. Schoeffel argued that the Church must, however, recognize in socialism at least the freedom movement of the laboring classes and deal with it accordingly. He urged that the validity of the workers' struggle be recognized by the Church. However, he warned that in doing so the Church must be careful not to absolutize any social or economic order.

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[1] Paul Althaus, *Communio Sanctorum* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1921), pp. 58 ff.

[2] Otto Piper, *Grundlagen der Evangelische Ethik* (Gueterslоh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1920).

[3] Hanns Lilje, *Das Technische Zeitalter* (Berlin: Furche Verlag, 1928).

[4] Alfred Dedo Mueller, *Du Erde Hoere* (Berlin: Furche Verlag, 1930).

All of these writers shared the common concern that the Church confront the modern world and deal with its problems. But beyond their discussions they provided no new form for the Church by which she could regain a vital role in modern society.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 331.

[2] S. Schoeffel, "Die Soziale Frage im Lichte der Augsburger Konfession," *Luthertum und Soziale Frage*, ed. Adolf Keller (Leipzig: M. Heinsius, 1931).

The Church under National Socialism

The Church Struggle.--The preceding survey of the concern within German Protestantism during the thirties with the problems of the Church's Community (or lack of it) and the critical social problems of that day has not, of course, been complete. Our purpose has been merely to indicate the basic problem of the isolation of the Church from modern society and the increasing concern with this problem within the Church. In the theological stirrings of this period ideas were being sown which later would bear results in the emergence of the Evangelical Academy. The following years, 1932 to 1945, saw the Church gripped in a struggle which prevented her from pursuing these concerns further. These twelve critical years, however, constitute a vital part of the Academy story. During this period the Church witnessed the demonic deterioration which resulted at least in part from the Church's having become isolated from the main stream of social and political developments within Germany. The Church Struggle (Kirchenkampf) brought many of these earlier insights into the Church's dilemma to a sharper focus and created a concerned community within the Church which survived the battle and later initiated the Academy movement.[1]

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[1] There were many who did not survive this struggle. Nevertheless, their witness continues to inspire the Church. Dietrich Bonhoeffer is considered to be one of the spiritual "fathers" of the Academy movement. A remarkable collection of letters from young students and others who perished in in concentration camps and on the battle fronts provides a view in depth of the spiritual and political struggle of the time and of the doubts, faith, and fears felt by German youth. Cf. Helmut Gollwitzer, Kaethe Kuhn,

The story of the German Church's conflict with National Socialism has not yet been fully told. We cannot hope to go into this important chapter of modern Church history very thoroughly here, but we will seek to point out those aspects of this period which have contributed to the development of the Evangelical Academy.

The Church Struggle did bring the basic issues facing the Church clearly to the surface. In the defensive battle for her own survival it became very apparent to the Church where she had failed in the past.

> In individual occupational groups as in public life in general, crucial ethical and religious problems became so acute that the Church had to interest herself in them lest she fail completely to preach her message to actual life. How much she had failed to do just that in the past was first seen with tremendous clarity in the experiences of the Church Struggle during the National Socialist period. Two things were revealed in this difficult crisis. First, in the past decades and century the Church had failed to make clear the meaning of her message in relation to social-ethical questions. . . . And secondly, in the Church Struggle the pastors were partially isolated from their congregations because the members had lost an understanding of the content of the Christian message and of the importance of correct teaching in the Church.[1]

The Church's war with Hitler revealed the appalling situation in the parishes. It became clear to many that the Church needed a new profile in the modern world. On the other hand, the war did intensify the cohesion of the faithful remnant which remained. Out of these years came a tightly bound, small, but faithful corps of Christians who were to inaugurate the Evangelical

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and Reinhold Schneider (eds.), Du Hast Mich Heimgesucht Bei Nacht (3d ed. rev.; Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1955).

[1] Mueller, "Evangelische Akademie," *op. cit.*, p. 369.

Academy and other movements after the war. In evaluating the role that these crucial years played in laying the foundation for the Academy, the director of the Hermannsburg Academy wrote:

> The resistance of the Christian congregations against the regime of the Third Reich, especially that of the Confessing Church [Bekennende Kirche], had brought a notable group of laity into the picture who were open to every task which the Church laid upon them. They had born the weight and heat of the Church Struggle side by side with their pastors and knew both the difficulty and success of a confessing faith and a brotherly community in the midst of a lax or hostile world.[1]

The Confessing Church.--The Confessing Church (Bekennende Kirche) played an important role in preparing the way for the Academy's aggressive and daring approach to social and religious problems. Hitler's attempt to capture the Church intact by placing "German Christian" pastors in the leading positions of the Church and his attempt to make Ludwig Mueller the head of a united Protestant Church in Germany met with the immediate opposition of a group of pastors belonging to the Young Reformation Movement. These represented the younger leadership of the Church which had been nurtured in the resurgence of Reformation studies and inspired by the theological work of Karl Barth. This fresh strength in the Church made itself felt at the very beginning of the Church Struggle in a declaration in January, 1933, which protested the plans of the National Socialists.

> The disorders in our public life are so obvious that no one can overlook them. Many plans have been drawn up and many promises made, but they do not help us. Now people are beginning to turn to the Church for answers. We hear these questions from the side of those suffering from the attacks on the Church by her obvious opponents as well as from the side of those claiming that the Church has not recognized

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[1] Johannes Doehring, Evangelische Akademie Hermannsburg (Hermannsburg: Evangelical Academy, 1952), p. 3.

> the tasks given her. There are those who only want material help from the Church. Others are looking to the Church for an ally in the political war. The one group expects the Church to sanction and justify its political acts while the other seeks to capitalize on the Church's prestige. The Church can satisfy neither of these demands. Her task is rather to sharpen the conscience and to proclaim the Gospel. Since the Church has been asked, however, we will answer on her behalf as her servants. We can no longer promise to practice the cautiousness which has existed for so long. The recovery and eternal welfare of our people depend on the Church's proclamation of God's Word to those living under the present distress and on their hearing and believing this Word.[1]

The Young Reformation Movement, organized early in 1933, quickly became the main target of the "German Christians." When the "German Christians" sought that same year to rig the Church elections this group protested with the words: "We call all Protestant Christians to a decision. We are fighting for a confessing Church."[2] It was out of these ranks that the Confessing Church was formed. Under the leadership of pastor Martin Niemoeller this protesting group was organized into a Pastors' Emergency League (Pfarrernotbundes). The members declared themselves ready for the battle by accepting these vows:

> 1. I engage to execute my office as minister of the Word, holding myself bound to the Holy Scriptures and to the Confessions of the Reformation as the true exegesis of the Holy Scriptures.
> 2. I engage to protest, irrespective of the sacrifice involved, against every violation of this confessional position.
> 3. I hold myself responsible to the utmost of my ability for those who are persecuted on account of this confessional position.
> 4. Under this vow I testify that a violation of the confessional position is perpetrated by the application of the Aryan paragraph within the Church of Christ.[3]

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[1] Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1933-1944, p. 8. [2] Ibid., p. 22.

[3] Arthur Frey, Cross and Swastika (London: SCM Press, 1938), pp. 143-44.

The Church declared herself here not only in principle but also in fact by taking a definite stand on the crucial issue of whether Christian Jews were to be barred from the fellowship of the congregations. At the National Synod in Wittenberg in September, 1933, the Pastors' Emergency League enlisted the support of some two thousand pastors to protest this new law. They did so with the words, "We must obey God rather than men." These are the men who constituted the Confession Church. By 1936 their number was estimated at six thousand with only about two thousand pastors counted as "German Christians."[1]

The declaration of the Confession Church which is of most significance for our consideration because it indicates the direction in which these Church leaders were moving, is the famous Barmen Confession of 1934. Section III dealt with the Confessing Church's theological position. It stated:

> 1. We reject the false doctrine that the Church might and must acknowledge as sources of its proclamation, except and beside this one Word of God, still other events, powers, forms and truths as God's revelation.
> 2. We reject the false doctrine that there are realms of our life in which we belong not to Jesus Christ, but to other masters, realms where we do not need to be justified and sanctified by Him.
> 3. We reject the false doctrine that the Church is permitted to form its message or its order according to its own desire or according to prevailing philosophical or political convictions.
> 4. We reject the false doctrine that the Church is able or at liberty apart from this ministry to give itself, or to accept, special "leaders" equipped with power to rule.
> 5. We reject the false doctrine that the state should or could go beyond its special task and become the sole and total order of human life, thus fulfilling also the Church's vocation. We reject the false doctrine that the Church should or could go beyond its special task and assume functions and dignities of the State, thus itself becoming an organ of the State.

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[1] Stewart Herman, It's Your Souls We Want (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), p. 132.

> 6. We reject the false doctrine that the Church could assume a human sovereignty over the Word and work of the Lord, and place these at the service of any arbitrarily chosen wishes, aims or plans.[1]

Section V of the Barmen Confession dealt with the practical work of the Confessing Church. It revealed how the Church had discovered in this protesting movement a new life among the laity and clergy. This was recognized as a charismatic gift and the members of the Confessing Church appealed to it to justify their claim of authority in guiding the affairs of German Protestantism. This movement began spontaneously in many quarters where a common spirit was felt to exist. It included representatives of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Union Churches. This new life was free of the bureaucratic restrictions of the official Church government. The Confessing Church had a mobility and freshness that enabled her to act quickly and effectively in each new crisis. This heritage was later to be passed on to the Evangelical Academy. At Barmen some practical suggestions were made for the rejuvenation of the local parishes.

> The pastors must come together regularly in the individual Synods for mutually helping each other, for corporate work under God's Word, and for common prayer. In such meetings the pastors' wives must also be included from time to time. We also need men in our Church to fulfill the office of admonishing and comforting. Wherever possible these should be free to go from place to place to strengthen and exhort the brethren, especially those who are isolated and lonely. Special retreats of several days duration should be held away from the pressures of the large cities.[1]

It was also urged that the pastoral community be maintained by some kind of publication and through theological studies of the basic Christian doctrines. It was further required of the pastors that the members of their parishes be trained for a more active part in the life of the Church. Retreats were also suggested for the purpose of recruiting and training future pastors. The desire for a new and deeper community within the Church, the use of retreats, and the emphasis on an active laity all are elements of the Barmen Confession which later went into the establishment of the Evangelical Academies.

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[1] Frey, op. cit., p. 149.

[2] Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1933-1944, p. 67.

Professor Helmut Thielicke in the first volume published by the Research Commission of the Evangelical Academies has characterized this period as the "Ghetto life" of the Church. During this time, according to Thielicke, the Church learned the following: (1) a deepened understanding of the central message of the Law and Gospel; (2) a new sense of Church discipline and a decisiveness in questions of truth; (3) a new experience of the Church as a personal community of the faithful called together by the Holy Spirit rather than simply a national institution; (4) the recovery of the specific form of brotherly love in the Church as a matter of personal ministration as over against the impersonal, secular, or half-Christian forms of social work; and (5) the renewal of the liturgical life of the Church.[1]

Another evaluation of this period has come from Carl Mayer of the New School for Social Research. He points out that the Church struggle was led by the orthodox elements within the

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[1] Helmut Thielicke, Kirche und Oeffentlichkeit (Tuebingen: Furche Verlag, 1948), pp. 18-19.

Church.[1] What began as a fight against heresy soon became a struggle against the religious, social, and political evils of National Socialism with its complete disregard for the sanctity of individual life. Although the Confessional Church failed to win over the whole Protestant Church, and was, according to Mayer, strong in the clergy but weak among the laity, nevertheless it did gain a new moral prestige in the eyes of the people.[2] The problems of Church, State, and society were by no means solved, but a keener awareness of the inadequacy of the existing arrangement was gained. Mayer concludes that the crisis was brought to the open, but the solution was still left to the future. The Church lost much and suffered a great deal during the fateful years of 1933 to 1945, but at the same time she also gained much. To what extent the Academy movement has provided the answer sought for during these years of crisis will be discussed later. There can be little doubt, however, that the Academy did fruitfully capitalize on the new prestige won for the Church and on the growing awareness throughout the Church of the need for a new form of the Church.

The Student Movement.--Closely associated with the Confessing Church's leaders and their struggle were the leaders of the German Christian Student Movement (DCSV). In many cases these were the same men. The DSCV was to give to the post-war Church some of its ablest leaders. The Nazis soon became suspicious of the DCSV and had its activities suppressed. The work continued, however, by changing the structure of the work. The students were simply re-organized into congregations. This meant a closer tie to the Church and a deepening of Christian community life among the students. The discussion groups sponsored by the student congregations with faculty members were experiences which proved very valuable later in the Academy work. Under the leadership of such men as Hanns Lilje and Eberhard Mueller (both former General Secretaries of the movement) and the Goettingen student pastor, Adolph Wischmann, student work had become a program of the renewal and recruitment of new lay forces for the Church. Students of all faculties as well as many professors were attracted to the Church in the form of Student Congregations. Close contact was maintained with the alumni by the organization of Alte Freunde Kreisen throughout Germany. They met for sectional conferences and were kept informed of each other's activities through the student publication, Der Christlicher Student. Pastor Wischmann, despite the fact that he was drafted into the army in an effort to curb his activities, managed to send letters regularly to the students and alumni groups. This operation was in violation of official orders, but was possible because of the courage of the Staff of the Hannover Confessions Church office who did the printing and mailing. Throughout Germany there grew up these circles of alumni with whom contact was maintained. After the war they provided a ready-made corps of intelligent and concerned laity to support the work of the Evangelical Academies. (The Schleswig Academy, for example, actually began with just such a group of former members of the DCSV and student congregations.) The student publication, Der Christlicher Student, was combined later with the Zeitwende at the suggestion of the national leader of the student congregations, Horst Bannach, and Academy director Eberhard Mueller. The new magazine was named Die Neue Furche. It became the common publication of the student congregations, their alumni, and the Academies.[1] Out of the DCSV and student congregations have come such post-war Church leaders as Hanns Lilje, Reinhold van Thadden-Triegloff, and Heinrich Giesen (leaders of the Kirchentag which has been closely associated with the Academy), and former student pastors and DCSV leaders who became Academy directors--Adolf Wischmann (Hermannsburg/Loccum), Eberhard Mueller (Bad Boll), Karl Kraemer (Muelheim), Hans Stroh (Bad Boll), Hans Bolewski (Loccum), and George Muntschick (Meisen). There are also student pastors who are active in Academy programs such as Eberhard Bethge (formerly of Berlin) and Wolfgang Boehme (Hesse).

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[1] Carl Mayer, "The Crisis of German Protestantism," Social Research, XII (November, 1945), 423 ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 428.

War experiences of the Church.--The Second World War made some positive contributions to the rise of the Evangelical Academies. Through their new experiences in the war many pastors became alarmed over the predicament of the Church. Many of the pastors of the Confessing Church were deliberately drafted into the army. There they were thrown in close contact with all classes of people in a way quite impossible as parish pastors. This experience is well described by Hermann Diem:

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[1] Eberhard Mueller in a letter to all Academies dated December 19, 1949. (In the files of the Bad Boll Academy.)

> As soldiers we experienced how good it was for pastors to get a close look at the world for once and not view it only from the safe distance of the pulpit. We no longer had any "sacred sphere" in which our words and deeds might appear credulous. No longer did we occupy an office which permitted us to preach and to command. Neither did we have any "Churchly clique" which obligingly listened to and blindly accepted what we said. . . . The comrades with whom we had to deal as soldiers represented the average of our parishes. However, at home we had never concretely confronted each other because there they had not come to Church and we had not gone to them. We were shocked, to be sure, when we came to this realization. At the same time it was clear to us that with few exceptions they would also not come to us after the war.[1]

The two first Academy directors, Johannes Doehring and Eberhard Mueller as well as Hans-Rudolf Mueller-Schwefe, also a director of an early Academy, had all been military chaplains. Doehring discovered in this experience that the clergy were almost totally isolated from their parishioners.

> In the army congregation of the Second World War pastors and laity encountered each other in a new way that often was beneficial. The latter were frequently called upon to make their own confession of faith when their skeptical buddy in the same trench suddenly asked, "And what do you believe?" In that situation the answer of the Christian carried just as much weight as his own faith actually meant to him. The lawyer or baker who hardly ever opened his mouth at home to witness to the reality of his faith, except to sing a hymn on Sundays, suddenly was thrust into the same position as his pastor. He had to confess personally, "I believe", or remain silent. Little wonder then, that the next time he met his pastor their discussion had an openness never achieved before at home. Out of this personal experience of dismay at one's own failure or at one's naked ignorance of the fundamental facts of salvation grew an equally intense desire to experience the priesthood of all believers and the mutual assistance of a living community where people live for and with one another in a spiritual and physical relationship. To this must also be added a second factor. The philosophies of life and sectarian viewpoints which accompanied the soldiers from the homeland were continually slipping out of place. One's aggressiveness or defensiveness, intellectual

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[1] Hermann Diem, Resturation oder Neuanfang in der Evangelische Kirche? (Stuttgart: Franz Mittelboch Verlag, 1946), pp. 50-51.

prowess or spiritual authority by no means coincided with his declared confessional position. One could sense in many who still critically questioned that already they had a genuine willingness to go far beyond their personal quest and to share the message of faith responsibly with others, if only they would be given the chance to do so in their congregations. If only they could find a community in which there would be a genuine giving and sharing. Again and again the apostle's description of the Church as a living Body consisting of many members each serving the other's needs was taken as the basis for such discussions. The ministry of comforting the wounded or of repeating the resurrection story over fallen comrades by these laymen was done simply as something to be taken for granted. The discussion of the Bible also became an accepted responsibility among the brethren. On the basis of such experiences in many small circles there arose at that time the question, "What shall we take home with us from this beneficial experience of a corporate spiritual life which we have had out here? What will we be able to preserve of these spiritual possessions and of this newly won experience of the Church in the face of the coming collapse of our people which most Christians see inevitably coming upon their nation? What can we do for our physically, spiritually, morally, and politically torn and defeated people? And what can we do for the Church? She alone is able to perceive in such a catastrophe the mercy of God and the call to our people to repent." Thus in many quiet night discussions on the fronts of the Second World War the foundations were laid upon which the Evangelical Academies were to be built.[1]

The zero-point.--The situation which existed in Germany in 1945 after the collapse of the National Socialist State and the defeat of the German military forces has been aptly described as the zero point (der Nullpunkt). The enormous physical destruction and staggering loss of lives left the German people in a state of shock from which they will only with difficulty recover. The Church was faced with the nearly hopeless situation of the destruction of her buildings and churches. In Aachen, for example, 428 out of 439 churches were destroyed or heavily damaged. In the Hannover Territorial Church 154 buildings and churches were totally destroyed and 782 badly damaged. Eighty six per cent of all the churches in Mannheim were totally destroyed or badly damaged, seventy per cent in Karlsruhe, sixty four per cent in Freiburg, and so forth.[1] The loss of pastors during the war was staggering. It has been estimated by some that by August, 1943, one half of all Protestant pastors serving as soldiers had been killed in action.[2] This tremendous loss of leadership created a desperate situation in the parishes during and after the war. In addition the Church was confronted with the great influx of refugees and the enormous task of ministering to intense physical and spiritual problems.

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[1] Doehring, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

The physical destruction, however, represented only part of the destruction at this zero point. Ideologies had also been destroyed. Hitler had repeatedly emphasized the conscious tradition of a "Chosen People," but the capitulation and the complete refutation of the Nazi Weltanschauung left a vacuum. Something ended, but nothing took its place. At an Academy conference one speaker put it this way, "What we lack as over against England and America is the consciousness of a living tradition. All we have left is a concept of tradition, but it is strikingly soulless and uncreative."[3] In all areas of life this rupture caused by the capitulation was felt. Both in intellectual as well as in practical questions a pervasive Ratlosigkeit (absence of counsel) and nihilism was felt. Those who had been so thoroughly indoctrinated in the absolute claims of the Nazi ideology now turned a deaf or skeptical ear toward the claims of all ideologies. A letter from an ex-soldier addressed to the Aschaffenburg Main Echo read:

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[1] Beryl McClaskey, The History of U.S. Policy and Program in the Field of Religious Affairs under the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, Research Project No. 194 (Washington: Department of State, 1951), p. 15, n. 50.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Hans Hennecke in *Tutzing Tagebuch*, II (Spring, 1952), 54.

> What was good the day before yesterday was evil yesterday, what was good yesterday is damned today. Who can say whether what is good today will be worthy anything tomorrow? . . . Where shall we young people look for guidance? Certainly not to our elders. We must get together and look for a solution ourselves. Meanwhile the only ethos possible for us in the coming year is to put up with life as we find it and to strive tirelessly toward spiritual perceptions.[1]

Bishop Lilje, watching the deterioration of his once arrogant Nazi jailers during the last days of the war, has given us this graphic description:

> This drama was played out day after day, and with man after man, was so terribly undignified that an observer could only come to the conclusion that none of the concentration camps were necessary! Goebbels' propaganda was unnecessary! all the fighting around Stalingrad was unnecessary! and a total war of annihilation was entirely unnecessary! This terrible cowardice--where not the slightest attempt was made to stand by the ideals of yesterday, when everything that used to be considered important now fell into the abyss of nothingness--this incredible cowardice was the worst self-imposed judgment on the vanquished political order that anyone could imagine. We cannot even describe the collapse as a crash. This collapse was unique. Never has a chapter of German history closed in such degradation.[2]

Academy director Mueller-Schwefe gave this description of this period:

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[1] Quoted by Steward Herman in The Rebirth of the German Church (London: SCM Press, 1946), p. 183.

[2] Hanns Lilje, The Valley of the Shadow, trans. Olive Wyon (London: SCM Press, 1950), pp. 121-22.

> The collapse of the Third Reich was more than just a political catastrophe. A group of young people who had fought in the war emerged with a burning desire to find some solidarity with their bewildered and searching comrades. They were not looking for just a new way, but rather were asking if life had any meaning at all, if there was any soil out of which new life could grow. There was a distinct difference between this generation and the one following World War I. Now the crisis in the social order was far more extensive, the call of the tempter stirred people much more deeply, and suffering gripped all classes. It was generally recognized that the questions were not just of a theoretical, economic, or scientific nature. They embraced all of life--both thought and action. The Church was also involved in this crisis. Her orders and methods had become questionable. All that remained was the "solidarity of counsel-lessness". This included Christians and non-Christians alike.[1]

The man who lived in the intellectual and spiritual vacuum of this zero point has been well described by Jan Christian Hoedendijk.[2] Hoedendijk speaks of this new creature as the "fourth man." To this man the Church must speak, but this is very difficult for this man is in complete rebellion. You cannot be specific with him for he is neither for or against anything--just rebellious. He considers any attempt to find meaning to be intellectual suicide. He seeks only to "unlearn" hope. This is the man, says Hoedendijk, of the post-war, post-modern world. He is incapable of revolution or of revival. He is only able to reflect on what his age no longer is. He is not anti-something, but post-something. He is post-bourgeoise. He has lost his certainties, even his false ones. He is post-Christian. The Church cannot re-awaken the faith of his youth, but must rather do real missionary work in which nothing can be assumed. He is post-churchly. The Church as an institution has simply lost all meaning for him. This "fourth man" is also post-personal. The "I" is no longer the center of the subject, but an object which is threatened from all sides and which seeks security and obscurity in the mass. If the Church is to reach the man of the post-war period, argues Hoedendijk, she must take the risk of leaving the ninety and nine to set out on a secular task outside of the Church and seek to reach those who are lost in the nihilism of the post-modern period.[1]

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[1] Mueller-Schwefe, loc. cit., p. 183.

[2] Jan Christian Hoedendijk, "Die Theologie des Vierten Menschen," Die Neue Furche, VII (June, 1953), 391-97.

The vast physical and spiritual destruction within the defeated German nation left it at the "zero point." However, this moment also offered a creative possibility for those who emerged from the war with a faith and a program. It is very possible that the Evangelical Academies might never have succeeded had it not been for the intellectual and spiritual vacuum of 1945. "In no nation has it been so clearly demonstrated in all areas of life as in Germany that the world without the foundation of faith has lost the basis of its own existence. . . . That is why the academy has had more rapid success in Germany than in any other land."[2]

The Academy also exploited to the full the opportunities offered at the end of the war to initiate free discussions between various segments of the broken national life. After years of having been forbidden to speak freely and openly the German people found the Academy discussions fresh and liberating. After the initial shock of the capitulation was past, all thoughts and feelings so long repressed finally welled up. The numbed silence was broken by intense and moving discussions.

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[1] Jan Christian Hoedendijk, "Ende und Anfang der Verkuendigung," Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 70-75.

[2] Eberhard Mueller, "Es geht um ein Weltproblem," Bad Boll Rundbrief, VI (October, 1949), 1.

> It is not by accident, but rather a decisive assertion of the essence and task of the Evangelical Academies in Germany that they have arisen out of the situation of the total collapse of our nation. If one speaks of the "grace of the zero point" [Gnade des Nullpunktes], of the really new beginning after 1945, then this applies particularly to the work of the academy. One might also say that especially fruitful and promising work was accomplished there where this situation of the total catastrophe was met and resisted with the greatest integrity.[1]

The defeated German people sought more than simply free discussions after the war. Their problems were the kind which required a new experience of community as well. It was this basic need for a new form of church life and witness that the first Academies quickly perceived.

> We soon learned that the simple community constitutes one of the essential foundations of a spiritual community in a time as dismembered as ours. The fruitless intellectualism of many purely discussion conferences, which became a kind of post-war disease, was due to the one sided emphasis on reason. This did not lead beyond discussion to genuine dialogue. What was missing was a physical expression and sacramental experience of a spiritual community.[2]

A community which provided not just the meeting of minds, but the meeting of total persons is what the man of the zero point required.

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[1] Mueller-Gangloff, "Fruchtbare Gespraeche," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 16.

[2] Doehring, op. cit., p. 10.

Weaknesses of German Parish Life

But the ability of the Church to meet the opportunities in the creative moment of 1945 may well be questioned when one considers the average parish situation. Already in the thirties far-reaching criticism had been heard from responsible leaders of the German Church.

> The congregation is the bearer of all the promises which have been given to the Church. . . . If the presbytery of the congregation in Hohenschoenhausen does something foolish and unchristian, then the entire world raises the cry, "That's what the Church is like". And this the world says with complete justification for this individual congregation is the Church.[1]

Karl Bernhard Ritter declared that the world to which the Church still clings must first be destroyed if there is to be a fresh breakthrough to God.[2] Ritter maintained that we must advance beyond the view that the congregation is merely the pastor's "consumer" and has no productive or formative interest in the Church. Ritter advocated a bold approach for developing the Christian congregation through a Protestant monastery. Such a place should not provide just an escape from the world but rather a center for schooling and training for combat within the world. "In the social situation of the present the cloister must take over the function of the parsonage as the model of parish life," declared Ritter.[3]

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[1] Dibelius, quoted in Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1931, p. 207.

[2] Martain Schian, "Gemeinde und Gemeindeorganisation," Ibid., pp. 205-19.

[3] Karl Bernhard Ritter, Freizeitgestaltung und Kirche (Schwerin: Verlag F. Hahn, 1930), p. 44.

The same stress on the importance of the local congregation came from the non-theologian and former candidate for the presidency of Germany, Willy Hellpach, in his article, "Between Wittenberg and Rome." A similar note was also struck at the 1930 Darmstadt conference under the theme, "Church Congregation--Civil Congregation." At this meeting an official of the Church made this statement: "The future of the Protestant Territorial Church depends on whether it is possible to create genuine life in the parishes. A parish must become something more than a mere cultus or a congregation whose boundaries are legally fixed."[1] We may add to this description the one made by an American observer:

> The missionary spirit, although German projects along missionary lines have been admirable, never really seized hold of the amorphus congregations in vast, half-empty churches. The pastors for the most part were unfamiliar with the heart-rending job of trying to build up struggling parishes, because parish lines were carefully demarcated and there were almost no Germans who did not belong to church and pay the stipulated tax. . . . Underneath this protective armor of social and political approval, the maggots of skepticism, rationalism, materialism, and socialism were eating away the very substance of faith, but the facade was unaffected. . . . Any close observer of the German scene was forced to the inescapable conclusion that the odor of decay and death hung between the soaring Gothic arches of those great cathedrals. The death rattle could be heard in the uninspired singing of choirless congregations.[2]

Despite the significant changes brought on by the Church Struggle and the war experiences, this description could be applied to vast areas of the post-war German Church. The bureaucracy of the Church government survived the war and continued to be a fundamental hindrance for a rebirth. Many saw the Church as merely another department of civil government in the same category as the City Street and Water Department. Hermann Diem in his book Resturation oder Neuanfang in der Evangelische Kirche? (Restoration or a New Beginning in the Protestant Church?) pointed to the paradoxical situation that the Church instead of possessing freedom in matters of organization and clear requirements in matters of doctrine had just the opposite.[1] The Church, argued Diem, was enslaved to a legal, bureaucratic order, but exercised considerable arbitrariness toward her doctrinal position. The clergy, accustomed to the prestige of an established office, took refuge behind their official status and offered to the laity little opportunity for exercising their own leadership. As a result the local congregation neither appealed to those seeking a new community nor was capable of meeting the needs of those outside her doors.

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[1] Quoted by Schian, loc. cit., p. 211.

[2] Herman, It's Your Souls We Want, pp. 106-107.

The two American Church leaders chosen by the United States State Department to survey the German Church situation after the war came to similar conclusions regarding German parish life. They noted particularly the lack of participation of the laity in both civic and church affairs.

> The result is management of public affairs by a few more or less irresponsible officials. In Church affairs this pattern produces leaders who are scholars but who do not identify themselves with current social problems and a laity which plays little part in Church activities because it is not "expert".[2]

These American observers doubted that the German Protestant Church had the resilience and resourcefulness to devise the innovations essential to an effective strategy toward the solution of German's present grave economic and social problems. A similar conclusion had been reached by Carl Mayer of the New School for Social Research.[1] He pointed out that the classes which still belonged to the Church were the leading social classes of the past. The Church had become alienated from the two pivotal classes of the modern world--the intellectuals and the workers. Consequently, the Church had lost control over both the top and the bottom of the social pyramid. Because the Church had aligned herself with the older ruling classes and had resisted the attempts to democratize German life she remained isolated from the liberal and democratic movements which were to shape the new Germany. The only thing, according to Mayer, which prevented the Church from being relegated to complete insignificance was the peculiar fact of German life that these classes otherwise alienated from the Church never formally disassociated themselves from it. Mayer suggested three changes must take place in the Church if she is to meet the needs of the modern period. First, the Church must disassociate herself more completely from the state in order to gain greater mobility and freedom. Secondly, the Church must overcome her fateful class character and become the Church of the whole of the population if she is to regain moral prestige. And thirdly, the Church must turn her back on the doctrinal vagaries of the era of liberal theology and find again a firm doctrinal foundation which will give her power to proclaim a message commensurate with the desperate condition of man.[2]

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[1] Hermann Diem, Resturation oder Neuanfang in der Evangelische Kirche? p. 54.

[2] R. P. Barnes and Paul C. Empie quoted by McClaskey, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

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[1] Mayer, loc. cit., pp. 397-432.

[2] Ibid., p. 430.

The lack of democratic processes in German Protestantism has frequently been cited as one of the factors contributing to the Church's isolation from contemporary life.

> In Germany, where lay activity was discouraged in the Church and survived only in other-worldly pietistic groups, the democratic development found itself seriously hampered. The supporters of the Church advocated political authoritarianism after the pattern of ministerial predominance in the Church, and thus democracy was left to secular leaders, who lacked the revealed knowledge of the true nature of political and social life.[1]

The Church was further handicapped to meet the challenge of post-war Germany because of the status of her clergy. Not only were their numbers greatly reduced during the war, but the Church faced great difficulty in recruiting a new corps of theological students. There had been a total of 2733 theological students in West Germany in 1933, but there were only 1728 in the first semesters after the war. This number increased with the return of soldiers in the next years, but today the number remains only around the 2000 mark.[2] Furthermore, of these students some forty per cent came from homes of academic professions while only six per cent came from homes of the working class.[3] These students receive a thorough theological training but little emphasis is placed on the problems of the industrial social order and little opportunity is given for contact with representatives of other professions. The average pastor is a stranger to his people and to the world in which they live. Pastors are consequently criticized for preaching in a foreign tongue (the "language of Canaan") and of failing to reach either the faithful few who occupy the pews or the multitudes who choose to remain outside the Church's doors. Although thousands flocked to the churches immediately after the war seeking some decisive word from the clergy, they were not satisfied with what they found there.

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[1] Otto Piper, The Political Structure of Lutheranism (St. Paul: Luther Seminary Library), (Mimeographed.)

[2] Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1954, p. 370.

[3] Der Mensch in der Wirtschaft, III (July, 1953), 23.

> Many pronouncements which were issued in this situation as a "word from the Church" by Church officials, Synods, or from leading personalities betrayed both the Church's lack of thorough knowledge of the facts of the world and the absence of a carefully thought through theological answer.[1]

Although the German Church generally was ill prepared to deal with the great tasks and opportunities after the war, she did have some advantages on her side. First, because of her resistance to Hitler the Church enjoyed the prestige of moral leadership to a degree she had not known for generations. Secondly, the Church was one of the few institutions which were still intact after the war. The Allies not only permitted the Church to continue her activities but frequently gave her assistance. Thirdly, there had emerged within the Church a new life and leadership which both recognized the failures and weaknesses of the Church and at the same time saw her great opportunities. The Church was by no means radically altered by the catastrophic events of the past two decades, but she had become aware of the need for a new form. She now had a growing edge. This new life asserted itself immediately after the war at the first meeting of Church leaders in Treysa in August, 1945. There it was declared:

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[1] Gerhard Guenther, "Die Verantwortung der Kirche in unserer Zeit," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 9, 1955, p. 7.

> Where fundamental Christian orders of life take effect in public life the political community is guarded against the danger of demonic deterioration. On the basis of this realization the great and difficult task has arisen for the Protestant Church in Germany to influence to a far greater extent than previously the forming of the public life and especially of the political community.[1]

Treysa called for a reshaping of the German Church in order that she might have an influential rôle in German society. The first step, it was urged, was to begin with the orientation of the pastors. They should be assisted by specialists from various fields to become acquainted with the new dimensions of modern life. For the reshaping of the life of the Church the creation of active lay groups within the congregation was recognized at Treysa as essential.

> The gathering together and the continued reciprocal strengthening of a circle of concerned and responsible Christian laity is needed. These must be concerned not only with the Church's administrative offices or her relationship to political parties, but must also be resolved to preserve the Christian way of life in all areas of public life.[2]

In the decades preceding the establishment of the first Evangelical Academy there were many attempts to find new forms to overcome the distance between the Church and German society. The isolation of the Church, her rigidity in preserving old forms, her immobility in the face of a greatly transformed society had been recognized by some for many years, but the conflicts of the thirties and the war resulted in concrete attempts to develop new forms. The German Church was confronted by the imperative of the moment in 1945. A new way had to be found. That new way was the Evangelical Academy.

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[1] Fritz Soehlman (ed.), Treysa 1945 (Lueneburg: Heiland Verlag, 1946), p. 102.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF A DIALOGUE

In establishing the first Evangelical Academy only a few months after the end of hostilities, the German Church broke fresh ground in her attempt to regain some meaningful role in German life. Out of the experiences of success and failure in these first years of the Academy its form gradually took shape. From initial encounters with many areas of modern German society certain programs, methods, and policies were found to be necessary and strategic if this new work was to reach the core problems of the social order. In the Academy the Church sought consciously to adapt herself to the changes wrought by the social and political revolutions. In German Protestantism this was possible only outside the rigid structure of the traditional oarish. The story of the first Academies is thus the story of the Church's search in the modern world for a role of relevance and service.

The First Academy: Bad Boll

The story of the German Evangelical Academy begins in the province of Wuerttemberg in the summer of 1945. Three men were the initiators of this new work. They were Bishop Theophil Wurm, Professor Helmut Thielicke, and Dr. Eberhard Mueller. Bishop Wurm had played a leading role in the Church Struggle. His voice had been raised frequently and powerfully against the encroachments on the Church by the Nazis.[1] At the end of the war he was the leading Church figure in Germany. Bishop Wurm called together the Church leaders at Treysa and was elected the first chairman of the newly organized Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD). The support and great prestige which Bishop Wurm gave to the first Evangelical Academy had much to do with its great success. Professor Thielicke had also become a familiar figure through his famous sermons in the Stuttgart Stiftskirche during the hardest days of bombing. He made a great popular appeal packing the Church each Thursday evening. As early as 1942 in a memorandum Thielicke had outlined the basic features of an "Evangelical Academy" which he proposed as a new method for training Christian laity after the war.[2] He proposed that theologians be brought together with representatives from all areas of life. Later from his position on the theological faculty at Tuebingen he was to see his dream become a reality. The third member of this group, Eberhard Mueller, mentioned earlier in connection with the Evangelical Weeks and student work, returned to Wuerttemberg after the war also filled with plans for some kind of new encounter between the Church and the world. In the many discussions on the front as an army chaplain and in his experiences with students he had become convinced that "places of discussion" (Staette des Gespraechs) should be established which would provide an atmosphere of trust and acceptance.

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[1] For a documentary record of Wurm's gallant resistance, see Heinrich Hermelink, Kirche im Kampf (Stuttgart: Verlag Hermann Leins, 1950).

[2] Eberhard Mueller, "Hier Treffen sich Theologie und Welt," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 7.

Just twelve hours before French troops occupied Tuebingen Thielicke and Mueller met in that city and spent these hours sharing their common thoughts about such a new center. They were unable to realize their plans during the summer of 1945, however, because of the need to minister to the immediate physical and spiritual needs of the returning soldiers. In the meantime they were on the alert for a place to hold conferences. This seemed almost a hopeless search because of the destruction of available sites, the great influx of refugees who had to be housed, and the possession of available quarters by the occupation troops. Help came unexpectedly, however, from the Moravian Church which had been forced to move her headquarters from Herrnhut in the face of advancing Russian armies. Through the assistance of American authorities they were resettled in the resort and health center of Bad Boll near Goeppingen. In Bad Boll the Moravians occupied the hotel once used by the famous theologian, pastor, and social politician, Christoph Blumhardt. Eberhard Mueller, eagerly looking for a place, met the Moravian Bishop and discovered that there were one hundred rooms at Bad Boll equipped with beds which the Moravians were not using. Arrangements were immediately made with Bishop Wurm and the first conference was set for late September, 1945.

With a place in which to meet one of the major problems had been overcome. But how were people to be informed of the first Academy conference since all communications had broken down? Neither telephone, postal, nor train services were dependable for making the necessary invitations. The word was spread, however, throughout the Church districts by motorcycle and somehow people found out about the new center at Bad Boll. The invitation was sent out in the name of Bishop Wurm. "The fearless willingness with which this old gentleman was prepared to follow new ways in service of the Church as well as his personal assistance in the conferences in the first years is really the decisive thing in the success of the entire project."[1] The announcement of that first meeting under those difficult conditions was, nevertheless, as Mueller later described it, "an irresponsible gamble." There were, however, some advantages in the peculiar situation of a nation whose normal life had been disrupted. There were many who simply had nothing to do and could take the time for such retreats which in those first years sometimes lasted two weeks. Furthermore, though goods were extremely scarce, money was not and with little to spend it on people were willing and able to pay the Academy fees. This economic condition was an important factor in the financing of the Academies until the money reform of 1948.

The first conference was held for businessmen and lawyers. These two groups faced great responsibilities and problems in the rebuilding of the national life. The one had the task of resurrecting industries and shops out of ruined cities and the other of untangling and establishing on a new basis the judicial and legal system. Both were confronted with destroyed systems. Both had responsible positions in the new Germany. They represented two of the critical areas to be dealt with in the first post-war years by the Church if she was to fulfill her aspirations, forged in the preceding years of struggle, of playing an influential role in the life of the new nation. By bringing these groups together with their complex and desperate problems the Academy indicated at the outset its purpose and courage. In its very first conference the Academy thus sought to engage the Church in a "conversation with the world."

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[1] Ibid.

This historical conference at Bad Boll was held from September 29 to October 12. The Feast of St. Michael became the day on which the Evangelical Academy was founded. We have already noted the relationship of the Berneucher Circle and its Michael Brotherhood to the Evangelical Academy. This tie was now further strengthened by the adoption of the same patron saint by the Bad Boll Academy,

> The academy arose at a time when demonic forces were being overthrown and a new beginning was possible. The Archangel Michael has long been considered the patron saint of the Germans. The task of following in his footsteps in order to wrestle with evil and to prepare the way for good was a moral duty of old German knights. As a consequence of our technological development monstrous internal and external threats have come upon all of humanity. Many people today consider themselves too weak personally to resist evil and affirm the good in human society. The Evangelical Academy wants to affirm that God is stronger than all ungodly powers. He who stands on His side stands on the side of the Victor.[1]

Because of the communication problem it was impossible to know what the response to this first conference would be. Of the speakers invited only one third finally appeared, including Professor Heim from Tuebingen (who gave the Bible Study on the Sermon on the Mount), Helmut Thielicke, Dr. Martin Haug (now Bishop of Wuerttemberg), Dr. Manfred Mueller, and Dr. Viktor von Weizsaecker of Heidelberg. However, to everyone's amazement, some 150 men appeared, substantiating the belief that people were eager to avail themselves of such opportunities. The Academy was thus successfully launched.

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[1] Martin Koller (ed.), A New Road in Germany: Evangelical Academy (Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1956), p. 48.

> In the following weeks the news of this event was discussed in meetings of Boards of Directors, in various departments of industry, in concentration camps and court rooms, in waiting rooms and halls of learning. The Church governments throughout Germany were very interested in this new venture and requested reports. The Stuttgart Church officials were now more than ever ready to grant all the freedom necessary for the continuance of this new work.[1]

Having begun its work with such secular problems the Academy had sunk its foundation on the banks of one of the two continents it sought to bridge. In the very next conference held by the Bad Boll Academy work was begun at the other end of the span with a meeting for Church officials to deal with the problem of bureaucracy in the Church. The Academy took upon itself the task of building a bridge, of providing a place of discussion between the Church and the world. This approach was something quite new for the groups involved. The Academy leaders had no experience in such a program and had to find their way often by trial and error--a unique procedure for the German Church.

Some mistakes were made. One notable example of a failure from which the Academy leaders were to gain valuable experience was the third Academy conference at Bad Boll in December, 1945. At this meeting the attempt was made to reach the working class, a group which had been critical of the Church ever since the social upheaval of 1848. Since that time the Protestant Church in Germany had found it especially difficult to make contact with the labor movement.

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[1] Mueller, loc. cit., p. 7.

> Despite all the well meant efforts the Church often found no entrance to the heart of the industrial working class. A greater appeal was made to this group by the Communist Manifesto, the Erfurt Program, proponents of socialism, agitators and secretaries of the labor unions than by the message of Christ proclaimed by the pastor. The laborers who had declared their sympathy with Marxism felt a close bond with the liberal spirit of the age in its rejection of the Christian world view and of Church life. According to their view Christianity and the Church were outmoded. Furthermore, their attitude was strengthened by the fact that the majority of "Christians" in the Church no longer lived according to their faith.[1]

In later years Bad Boll was to have remarkable success with this group, but her first attempt failed. Aside from a few invited officials of the labor unions with whom Bishop Wurm had made contact, most of the men who came did not really represent the rank and file of labor. Many who did come had been associated with the Christian Labor Union, an earlier attempt by the Church to reach labor whose failures the Academy did not wish to repeat. The Academy was concerned, rather, to reach those who represented the prevailing outlook of the workers, namely the old Marxists and the Socialists. The mistake had been made in this first conference of inviting the workers through the local pastors. But the clergy had little, if any, contact with the labor movement and sent instead the few faithful members of their congregations who happened to be laborers. It was not until two years later that a second workers' conference was attempted. By that time the Academy had made the necessary contacts with labor groups and managers so that invitations could be effectively sent out through these channels. Through the conferences for leaders in industry and business a number of men were enlisted who agreed not only to send workers from their factories but in some cases even to pay their expenses. This two-year delay was unfortunate for it came at the crucial point when the labor unions were beginning to be re-organized. It was clear evidence that the Academy was still hampered by the past failures of the Church and could not rely on the existing structure of the Church to reach the modern world.

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[1] Heinrich Braun, Industrialisierung und Sozialpolitik in Deutschland (Koeln: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1956), p. 39.

Another one of the groups to which Bad Boll turned its attention in its first conferences consisted of those affected by the de-nazification program. Foremost among these were teachers unemployed at this time not only because the schools were not opened that first year after the war, but also because so many were disqualified from other occupations for having taught Nazi ideology. Many of these teachers were responsible for religious instruction in the public schools and were deeply disturbed by questions of faith. The relation between these teachers and the local pastors was often quite strained. The Academy viewed the reconciliation of these two groups as one of her primary objectives. In the first two years, ten conferences were held for teachers from the province of Wuerttemberg. Some 1500 teachers and school officials attended these meetings. Among these teachers were many who had become indifferent to the basic questions of education.

> One was almost amazed if they took any pedagogical idea seriously. How many systems of government the old teachers had experienced! Each government had placed great emphasis

on the promotion of its particular ideology by the teachers. They were convinced that whoever won the youth won the future.[1]

It was the absence of this ideological pressure which these harassed teachers appreciated at Bad Boll. They were anxious to discuss the problems of overcoming the effects of National Socialism, the goals of education, and the humanistic and Christian views of education.

In 1946 twenty-five conferences were held at Bad Boll. The next year the same number took place with an average attendance of 130.[2] These continued to be largely occupational conferences including an ever-broadening range of professions. Meetings were held for doctors, farmers, publishers, artists, journalists, civil servants, students, and Church workers. The conference for the press held in October, 1946, attracted considerable attention as would its successors in the years following. Bishop Wurm's invitation to this particular conference stated that the Academy desired an intellectual exchange with the press which, like the Church, had the responsibility of proclaiming the Word. After the years of Nazi propaganda both the Church and the press needed to make a new beginning in their search for truth. The speakers at this conference were Hanns Lilje, Bishop Wurm, Tracy Strong (General Secretary of the World Student Christian Federation), Ruth Woodsmall (General Secretary of the YWCA), Dr. Hermann Walz (later head of the WCC Department of Lay Work and General

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[1] Evangelische Akademie (Stuttgart: Belserdruck, 1946), p. 11.

[2] Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1945-1948, p. 377.

Secretary of the Evangelical Kirchentag), and Dr. Eugene Gerstenmaier (head of Hilfswerk, the German Protestant relief agency, and later president of the Lower House of the German Congress).

Within two years after the first conference at Bad Boll eight other academies sprang into existence. Because of the lack of good communication the program at Bad Boll was not widely known for some time. It is, therefore, difficult to assess the role Bad Boll played in the founding of the other Academies. From the accounts of the developments elsewhere it appears likely that Academies would have been established anyway in other churches, Eberhard Mueller has recognized that though Bad Boll may have provided a stimulus the other Academies did develop independently. Wrote Mueller, "A genuine spiritual movement does not allow itself to be 'arranged' by a centralized office. It must grow of itself."[1]

The Hermannsburg Academy

The Academy in Hermannsburg near Hannover, like the one in Bad Boll, came into existence through the encounter of several key figures who were already seeking to establish some new form of missionary work in the modern world. In the Hannover Church the Evangelical Academy was begun by men who had come out of prison camps, battle fronts, concentration camps, and leading positions in the fight of the Confessing Church. These were convinced by their experiences that some new way must be found to relate the Church to the world. Bishop Lilje, then an official of the

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[1] *Ibid*.

Hannover Church and its representative to EKiD, was one of these men. He had faced the demonic forces of the totalitarian State in his court trial, interrogation, and imprisonment by the Nazis. He was rescued from execution by the quickly advancing American army. When he returned from prison to begin work again, he wrote this about his feelings:

> Life had been given back to me, with its opportunities of fresh service; and in spite of everything I had gone through, the rainbow of freedom was shining over my life, Much that is hard and difficult lies hidden in the future, but this is a new day. For a moment, the hour of history stands open; we have the feeling: "anything may happen".[1]

Not long after Lilje became Bishop of Hannover he inaugurated a new kind of *Blitzkrieg*. With a carefully chosen team of pastors and laymen he planned and carried out successful "Kirchlichen Wochen" (Church Weeks). This was a concentrated effort to make entire communities aware of the Church's message through a week of well-planned meetings in a selected city or town. Lilje and his staff addressed every group possible. They spoke in factories, schools, offices, and market places. The evening sessions consisted of a series of mass rallies to which Lilje spoke simply and effectively about the Apostle's Creed. Every inhabitant of the community from mayor to housewife was made the object of this program. The same personal dynamic of the Hannover Bishop which made these Church Weeks possible, was also an important factor in the success of the Hermannsburg Academy.

One evening early in 1946 Lilje preached a sermon in the

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[1] Lilje, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25.

Stiftskirche in Hannover. As he returned to the sacristy after the sermon he met Pastor Johannes Doehring eagerly waiting for him with a bold plan. Pastor Doehring had just returned from Hermannsburg where he had discovered a group of men who shared his hopes for establishing some new center of discussion between the Church and the world. He explained to Lilje how he had met with Dr. Kurt Kietrich, Study Directors Gurland and Horstmann, and the local pastor. They had reported to him the successful meetings sponsored by the congregation in Hermannsburg. A group of university-trained parishioners were meeting every two weeks to discuss their responsibilities as Christians toward the rebuilding of their crippled nation. Doehring had been invited to address this group on the tasks of the Church in public life from the perspective he had won while an army chaplain. During the discussion which followed he and his listeners discovered what Thielicke later wrote: "The idea of the Evangelical Academy hung in the air." "In the discussion it was asked if the spiritual soil of Louis Harms' Hermannsburg was not still productive. Perhaps it might still furnish the environment in which persons both within and without the Church could be led to a renovatio (renewal) of their lives."[1]

After the meeting the men mentioned above met to discuss the possibility of establishing an Evangelical Academy in Hermannsburg. It was learned that the British demolition team which had occupied one of the few hotels in town had just moved out. At that very moment the building stood empty. Without waiting for official permission these men immediately moved into the hotel and put up signs in German and English stating that it was occupied. Johannes Horstmann took charge of preparing the hotel and thus became Hermannsburg's first "Academy director." Doehring's task, as he reported to Lilje, was to get the official permission and financial aid required. Lilje's response was immediate and enthusiastic. Already in the Hannover Fellowship of the Confessing Church such a program had been seriously considered. This practical possibility in Hermannsburg fitted perfectly into plans which were already under way. A provisional working committee consisting of Superintendent Schulze as chairman and Pastor Mahner as secretary tackled the legal and financial problems and were able to make the necessary arrangements so that the Academy could open officially in September, 1946.

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[1] Doehring, op. cit., p. 5.

The first invitation to the Hermannsburg Academy noted that it was under the sponsorship of Hanns Lilje whose great prestige and personal support, like that of Bishop Wurm in Wuerttemberg, was decisive in making Hermannsburg a success.

> In the years since 1945 Lilje became for the German public and far beyond the epitome of the Churchman who could conscientiously and intelligently lead a matured Protestant Church in a new role in the modern world. How high this respect for Lilje had risen is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that influencial circles were urging his election to the office of president of the German Republic. The academy conferences for journalists which Bishop Lilje initiated and personally led each year made a great contribution toward a comprehensive and intelligent handling of public issues. It was further possible for the academy to make inroads among leading industrialists of the Rhine and Ruhr areas because of the tremendous response to the lecture given by the Bishop in Wehrden before leading representatives of the German coal industry.

On the basis of this lecture an increasing number of these men came to Hermannsburg.[1]

The first Hermannsburg conference began September 21, 1946. It was made possible through funds supplied by the Hannover Fellowship of the Confessing Church, the Hannover Territorial Church, and interested friends. The first lecturers were Lilje, Thielicke, atom physicist von Weizsaeker, and Professor Zimmerli of Zuerich. That year seven conferences were held with a total of 282 participants. The next year twenty-two conferences took place in the Hermannsburg Academy with a total of 1587 participants.

The conferences in Bad Boll and Hermannsburg were very similar, yet each had its particular character. The fact that the town of Hermannsburg had a strong tradition as a center of missionary training and that the conferences held in the Academy were only one third the size of Bad Boll, gave to its meetings a strong sense of community. It was this experience which the participants found in the Academy after the hard war years which was undoubtedly the outstanding feature of the early years of the Evangelical Academy. The accommodations were primitive and transportation difficult, but the sense of community seemed to thrive on conditions which called for co-operation, humor, and even a measure of common manual work. The Evangelical Academy has not generally included physical work in its conferences, but has sought rather to provide as comfortable accommodations as possible. Nevertheless, the more difficult conditions of the early years helped a great deal in generating a sense of group solidarity. The reactions of conference participants of this period gives an indication of what it meant for these people to have been in the academy. Many came with mixed feelings about spending a few days as an "Evangelical" Academy. Those who came to Hermannsburg with its history and its missionary training schools had reservations about being converted and "preached at." But in these critical years when the Academy was making its initial contact with the German public, these misgivings were largely overcome. The first Hermannsburg Rundbriefen (quarterly newsletters sent to the friends of the Academy) report some of these personal reactions.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

After attending a conference for "Leading Figures of Public Life in Industry," one of the participants upon returning home said in a lecture before a large audience:

> Those of you who are acquainted with me know that I tend to be more critical at first than positive. I traveled to Hermannsburg with considerable inner reservation. It seemed impossible for me to speak about questions of religion and faith before complete strangers. We have all experienced, no doubt, how very difficult it is to find words to express these things in front of others. Nearly everyone at the conference had had this same feeling. . . . But the door to creating a community was opened the afternoon we spent sharing our reasons for coming to Hermannsburg and the reservations we had. As each gave a little biographical note about himself or herself questions were asked back and forth and there grew an increasing warmth and sense of contact between us. We soon forgot our self consciousness in the sense of group belongingness. This was strengthened by our common worship, Bible study, and meals. . . . The general discussion continued every night until 9:30 P.M., but, I believe, no one went to bed then. There were always long discussions continued in small groups. Some just enjoyed the relaxed moments of being together. That was really the wonderful part of the experience. You were with friends who shared with you a deeper reality in the concern for the more important things in life. As interesting as the discussions and debates were, for the most part, one could always sense that this Reality which we shared, almost imperceptibly and incomprehensibly, was present in what was being said. It was no mystical cloud for here were sensible men who had no phantasies nor wild dreams. They dealt with each question with the greatest factual precision. Especially in those who

> were most reserved or sharpest in their critical attacks one was almost astonished to observe how they became more open and reasonable in the debate. They even began to assist each other more and more by clarifying their questions and being really helpful, friendly and gracious. . . . When one guest remarked the last evening, "Tomorrow we will all be homesick for this place", we all agreed.[1]

The young students who came to the Academy were very skeptical at first. The ideological collapse at the end of the war had been particularly painful for them. They were not to be easily lured into new faiths. The director of the Hermannsburg Academy gave this description of the group of students who were brought to the Academy for the Christmas holidays in December, 1946.

> The students came to us out of the worst kind of experiences imaginable. With a quiet but frightening calmness they related their grim experiences as refugees, of losing families, and of enduring poverty, hunger, and the cold hardships of study. They did not waste many words in telling their stories for their privations had become a routine and they did not expect much help these days at Hermannsburg in overcoming their feelings about their external fate. Some of them had been misinformed by their student organizations and thought that they were to waste their Christmas in some kind of sanatorium. They were quite taken back by the sign on our door, "Evangelical Academy". Later they had to smile when they reported to the academy director how disappointed they had been and how they had declared as they entered the academy, "Let's break out of here tomorrow". They told how they had suspiciously looked about the rooms for Bible verses on the walls and found none, for in remodeling the hotel great emphasis had been placed on a modern artistic appearance. So, somewhat checked and reserved, they began to take part in the open discussion. And then it was wonderful to experience how they thawed out, gained confidence, and relaxed to enjoy the intimate community of a truly festive occasion. As they left they asked, "When can we come back?"[2]

Another student from a conference a few months later had this to say about the Academy:

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[1] Hermannsburg Rundbrief, II (April, 1947), 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

> Before I came I had said: "Will I be converted?" "Will I have to listen to sermons of Bible verses from morning til night for eight days?" I came with a great deal of skepticism. But I can recommend to every thinking person, "Take eight days and go there!" Do not come with the objection that you have nothing to get out of it. The more hostile you are, the more you simply must go, and not in order to be converted for you will certainly not be preached at and told to repent. No pressure will be put on you. Nowhere else will you find such freedom in these matters as in the academy.[1]

A participant in a conference for teachers wrote:

> Certainly for all the participants Hermannsburg meant a liberation, something fundamentally new. The Evangelical Academy may become an undertaking that will rank with the Reformation. Here a basic renewal is taking place. In Hermannsburg not only are clergy and Church workers brought together, but all those who are troubled with religious questions--and all their tongues are loosened. We are grateful that through Hermannsburg we have found a way out of our need and narrowness; namely, a way in the direction from the "pastors Church" to the Church as congregation.[2]

A physicist reporting on his Academy experience said, "I am of the opinion that what is taking place in Hermannsburg is perhaps of world import. I consider it my earnest duty to help in this work."[3] A lawyer, reflecting upon the meaning of his visit to Hermannsburg, wrote:

> The Evangelical Academy is developing a new kind of academic thinking for the first time in 150 years. By placing in the midst of all the views presented convinced Christians who are otherwise free of all ties, she overcomes the opposition between faith and scientific knowledge and finds in them a new common root. The academy is therefore ahead of the university whose academic views are strongly tied to those of the various faculties. . . . In dealing with people, as I experienced for myself, the academy introduces you to a new type of person. Here are men quite free from all the presumptions of those usually surrounding us. How refreshing I found especially the humility and integrity which characterized the academy's search for truth.[4]

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[1] _Ibid_., III (August, 1947), 4.

[2] _Ibid._

[3] _Ibid_.

[4] _Ibid_., pp. 4-5.

For these people the Academy was a fresh and welcome approach on the part of the Church to human problems. It was as Lilje had said at the very first Hermannsburg conference, "If we are to learn something new, we must live in a new way."

The experience of community was of particular value in these first years for two special groups which were brought to Hermannsburg. Conferences were held regularly for refugees. These people, living in Western Germany against their own will, had been crowded into already filled homes of West Germans. They often found the reception hostile. For these people the Evangelical Academies provided a deeply appreciated experience of community. Early in Hermannsburg's history a full time worker in refugee problems was added to the staff. The other group greatly in need of such an experience of community was the clergy. Many of them led isolated and lonely lives faced with responsibilities they could not possibly meet. Often the pastors were dejected by the hostilities of their communities, the absence of supporting lay workers, and the empty Churches they faced each week. Pastors were encouraged to attend regular Academy conferences (it is generally a policy throughout the Academies to invite some pastors to every conference no matter what its topic). However, because of their special need pastoral conferences (Pastoralkollegs) were organized through the assistance of the central office of the Hannover Church. The first such meeting was held in October, 1947, with thirty young pastors in attendance. These conferences, unlike the regular ones of three to five days duration, lasted two weeks. This made possible the development of strong personal ties between these pastors.

The Profile of the Academy

The early history of the two most famous Academies reveals the general form the Church found successful in regaining a significant role in modern German life. The experiences of the many other Academies, which are described in the appendix, were essentially the same as those of Bad Boll and Hermannsburg.[1] By the end of 1947 nine Evangelical Academies were in operation in Western Germany and others were in the process of being organized. The idea of the Academy had taken firm root and its approach had proven to be remarkably successful. In this chapter dealing with the beginning of the Evangelical Academy several important facts have been noted about the establishing of this new program.

First, the Academy seemed to arise spontaneously shortly after the war taking root in a soil already prepared for such a new undertaking. The Church did not officially organize the very first Academies, rather the actual beginnings were the result of of the encounter of certain dynamic personalities, the prestige of the leading Churchmen who supported the work, and the availability at the right moment of centers in which to establish an Academy. As a result, the Academies had considerably more freedom from ecclesiastical bureaucracy than institutions of the German Church normally have. Their ability to move quickly and deliberately unencumbered by the usual complicated processes of Church administration was essential for their success. The Academy was free to feel its way into new territories and to adapt itself to new situations. The later Academies such as Herrnalb and Tutzing were "officially" organized by the bishops, but by then the Evangelical Academy had demonstrated its effectiveness.

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[1] Cf. Appendix

The approach which the Academy used was very successful in overcoming people's skepticism and misgivings. The Evangelical Academy quickly gained the reputation of being a place of open and free discussion and of genuine community where everyone was welcome and accepted. The Academy was also able to make full use of the new respect for the Church after her struggle against National Socialism. The reputation which the first academies made among the German public ensured the success of the later centers.

The Academy program centered its first programs around occupational groups. Professional groups such as teachers, lawyers, and pastors--those who carried considerable responsibility in rebuilding Germany and who faced profound problems in their tasks--were brought to the Academy. The work thus began with persons having a common task and a common need for counsel. The Evangelical Academies demonstrated from the very beginning of their work the concern to serve the critical needs of the day.

The Academies began almost immediately to pool their resources and form a working community to tackle the major issues rising out of the conferences and to plan future strategy. This co-operation strengthened the Academy movement and provided a valuable exchange of ideas and experience. Also at an early date the importance of research was recognized as a common responsibility of all the Academies.

A significant beginning had been made, but there was still much to learn and many new areas to explore. The Academy had thus far no real success, for example, in reaching the working class--one of the major groups the Academy sought to serve. Such a program was possible only after the ground work had been laid and the right contacts made. What the Church did demonstrate and discover in this initial phase of the Academy has been well stated by the Guntershausen director in his survey of this period.

> In the Academy the Church does not seek to indoctrinate the world, but rather to bring about a man-to-man dialogue. Where one is deeply troubled he does not seek at first just practical advice, but rather some foundation to give meaning to his life and work. Where men meet together to share their deep questions, there they are confronted at the same time by the Truth--the Triune God. They discover that the source of life is not truth as a system or as a decision, but truth as an encounter.[1]

This fresh encounter with the Church demonstrated to many that in the Academy at least there were those who recognized the importance of a new form of the Church for the modern world. In the Academy old patterns were discarded if they prevented this encounter between the Church and the world. The plasticity and mobility of the Church in the Academy encouraged many toward new confidence in the Church's ability to shape German life. In the words of one conference participant, "I come willingly to the Academy because there the Church 'happens.'"[2]

In the years that followed new Academies mushroomed throughout Germany. Meanwhile the older ones were developing and expanding their programs. The changes that took place are described by one director's review of the first five years of the Evangelical Academy.

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[1] Mueller-Schwefe, "Sieben Jahre Evangelische Akademie," op. cit.

[2] Hermannsburg Rundbrief, IV (November, 1947), 7.

> There was considerable change in the form of the work as the years went by. Each Academy had its particular characteristic owing to its location and director. However, the development followed essentially the same pattern. At first the work had been centered around occupational groups. The problems of each occupation provided the points of contact. Also decisive in this first period was the personal and earnest way in which people were received and spoken to in the Academy. This was the main impression of the Academy which people remembered. Even if the clarification of an issue was not achieved, the work was sustained, nevertheless, by the atmosphere of the place, the openness of the encounter, and the sociability which flowed from a genuine sense of Christ's presence. However, it was soon evident that life was returning to normalcy. Problems shifted to the fundamentals. Behind the occupational questions appeared the basic issues of our time. It was clear that it was not sufficient to appeal to people on the basis of their occupation alone.[1]

The transition from "occupational" to "problem" conferences was quite natural. It was quickly seen that the problems of one profession were common to several and that their solution must be sought on a broader basis. Thus out of the conferences for teachers grew meetings for parents and teachers dealing with the problems of the child, community, and school. Conferences for lawyers in a similar way raised basic questions of justice and led to joint conferences with theologians on natural law. Farmers and refugees were found to share the crucial problem of the integration of foreign populations into crowded and provincial villages. Workers and employers were brought together to discuss the question of codetermination. Lawyers and politicians met under the theme, "Justice and Power." One Academy held a retreat for Protestant and

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[1] Hans Mueller-Schwefe, "Neuer Weg nach Ninive," Sonntagsblatt, November 25, 1951.

Catholic historians to discuss the Reformation.[1] Athletes and the public were invited to a conference on betting. Pastors and doctors met to discuss the question of guilt. The theme of educational goals was shared by teachers and students in various Academies. Members of opposing political parties have met in the Academy as well as Catholics, Protestants and skeptics. Through the Academies pastors and theological professors have been brought into contact with natural scientists, union leaders, journalists, artists, stage and screen stars, and even jazz musicians. Representatives of the medical profession, pharmacy, pharmaceutical houses, and government met in one Academy to discuss the use of drugs.[2] In another Academy engineers of all branches were assembled with chemists and other technologists to deal with the question, "Is Technology the Hope of the World?"[3] The problem of the technical and spiritual aspects of the new German Army was discussed in still another Academy by reporters, former General Staff officers, young draftees, mothers, recent returnees from Russian camps, government officials, and pastors.[4]

Some conferences continued to be scheduled for specific occupational groups wherever a particular need for more limited and intensive discussion was felt. Such groups as librarians, first semester students, young married couples, members of the movie industry, war widows, the unemployed, representatives of the illustrated press, house servants, old people, refugees, pastors' wives, fraternity students, shop stewards, mayors, midwives, and young members of the nobility have been brought to the Academies to discuss their specific problems.

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[1] Evangelical Academy Guntershausen, October 15-18, 1952.

[2] Evangelical Academy Tutzing, May 5-6, 1951.

[3] Evangelical Academy Muehlheim, November 6-8, 1953.

[4] Evangelical Academy Loccum, April 8-12, 1954.

The Academy and Labor

Though the shift was to more and more problem-type conferences, nevertheless, such groups as the industrial workers received special attention on the occupational level. Bad Boll's initial experience with the working class had not proven very successful. At that time (1945) there had not yet been developed a close contact between the Academy and representatives of organized labor. This came about gradually through other conferences as well as through the conscious effort on the part of the Academy leaders to establish friendly relations with labor. By 1947 a successful conference for workers was held which attracted leading men of the labor unions and representatives of the working class who had been alienated from the Church. Many found themselves in an "evangelical" institution for the first time in their life. But they, too, like other Academy guests before them, were impressed by the warmth of the reception, the free discussions, and the "neutrality" of the Academy.

In Hermannsburg the early conferences had included representatives of the academic world, management, and the middle classes, but few workers. When this was pointed out to the Hermannsburg staff by a visiting British editor, a more concerted effort was made to organize workers' retreats.[1] The first such conference included one hundred laborers and five theologians. Among the workers was an old Marxist shop steward who was so impressed by the freedom within the Academy and the absence of tactical pressures on the side of the Church that he immediately telephoned his impressions to Albin Karl, a well-known union leader. As a result, this union leader became vitally interested in the Academy program and was later appointed the official contact person between the Association of German Labor Unions and the Evangelical Academy.[1] The interest which the workers showed by their questions concerning the conferences for management led the Academy leaders to organize joint labor and management conferences. The organization of the Protestant Action Committee for Labor Questions in 1951 and of the Labor Work of the Association of Protestant Men together with the establishment of the Friedewald Social Academy gave the Academies valuable labor contacts.

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[1] Doehring, op. cit., p. 14.

A few Territorial Churches, such as Wuerttemberg, created offices for labor pastors who work very closely with the Academies. In Bad Boll successful work has been done through small cell groups established in factories where there were a number of workers who had attended Academy conferences. These cells not only recruited more workers for the Academy programs, but also provided a continuing contact between the workers, their factory, and the Academy. The conferences for management, industrial councils, shop stewards, and union officials also made it possible to enlist the support of both labor and management in financing labor meetings. Announcements of workers' conferences were no longer sent through the clergy.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

> Invitations went to the union locals and simultaneously to the management of the industrial firms requesting them to send participants to the conference by joint agreement. The result was a situation in which the firm pays the conference expenses and compensates for the loss of wages without giving the impression that the Evangelical Academy is a propaganda institute under the control of the employer.[1]

Conferences are also held in Bad Boll for workers, union leaders, and management of the same firm in an effort to deal with the more specific problems of that working community.

Another successful project in the Academies' work with labor has been the Workers' Weeks (Arbeiterwoche) organized in co-operation with the Action Committee for Labor Questions. Bad Boll has been particularly successful in this program. In 1953, for example, eight such Workers' Weeks were carried out by the Wuerttemburg Academy and included 1700 participants.[2] That same year five "Summer Vacation Weeks" were sponsored for workers by the same Academy. A Workers' Week held in Heidenheim in January, 1954, sought to bring the Academy with its open atmosphere of trust and free discussion to the "grass roots" level.[3] Here the Church, labor, and management were all brought together for a series of meetings which began on Monday and closed on Sunday. The sessions were held in local restaurants where conference rooms were rented. At Heidenheim Bishop Haug of Wuerttemburg spoke of the contacts with labor which the Church had won during the Church Struggle and through concentration camp encounters between pastors and workers. Bishop Haug declared, "The role of the Church is not to make a social program, but to bring the Gospel into contact with the world of industry. Our purpose is to bridge the gap between faith and work and to reassure workers that they are not just numbers or slaves, but Children of God living in the freedom of faith and masters over the machines."[1] A representative of management speaking also at Heidenheim noted that despite all the scientific research in the field of labor and management the basic issues are best clarified by old Christian truths. No forced economic order or attempt to control motives through "Human Relations" programs provide the final answer. God must be placed in the center of these questions if we are to solve them. On behalf of labor, a representative of the local union spoke. He expressed great gratification over the fact that the Church once again was discovering the laboring man. During the week meetings were also held for workers' wives and working women to discuss the problems existing between the home and the factory. The public evening sessions under the theme "Man in the Apparatus" brought out the various human problems in industrial life. On Monday evening a lecture entitled "We Women in the Tension Between Home and The Job" was given. Wednesday four speakers dealt with various topics under the main theme of the week. On Thursday evening a skit was given which dramatized the attitudes of the workers toward each other and their work. The following evening a lecture was presented on the positive and negative aspects of rationalization in industry. Saturday evening was the "Evening of Encounter" at which time representatives of management, labor, and the Church met for an informal banquet. The Workers' Week closed on Sunday with a special worship service and summary talks.

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[1] Koller, op. cit., p. 5.

[2] Aktuelle Gespraech, II (February, 1954), 2.

[3] Interview with Pastor Joerg Simpfendoerfer, Bad Boll, June 2, 1954.

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[1] *Ibid.*

Several Academies have developed very promising programs for young workers. On the basis of successful conferences for management and labor counselors it was possible to persuade a number of firms to help finance the courses for young workers. This support has made it possible for courses of two to three weeks to be held. In some cases the firm pays both the regular wages and all the costs involved in attending the Academy. Previous retreats for your workers had also indicated the need for more intensive and extensive training. These young workers are a pivotal group of German labor and the Academy sought to develop a special program for them.

> The potentialities of this young elite are unique, as far as German labor is concerned. The particular circumstances of German development since 1945 have allowed them to move in great numbers into a vastly expanding trade-union apparatus which, under traditional conditions, would be dominated from top to bottom by older men, even by old men. They helped to build this giant machine, which represents easily the largest single democratic force in the country. By now they are securely entrenched. Thus they have not only staked their claim to future leadership, but have achieved positions that will allow them to assert it. It may be expected that their conceptions and aims will sooner or later become factors in the formation of the general policies of the West German trade unions.[1]

Young Workers' Courses were begun in the Loccum Academy in January, 1953. Apprentices and young workers were invited to spend ten to twelve days at the Academy for a program which has been characterized as an "abbreviated liberal arts course."[2] This program consists of a set schedule of worship, lectures, discussions, recreation, singing, and varied informal programs in the evening. The faculty consists of members of the Academy staff and outside speakers, including theologians, lawyers, doctors, a film critic, labor union representatives, politicians, and government officials. Lectures deal with such topics as "The structure of the German economy," "The production and distribution of social products," "Prices and Wages," "Principles of work and social rights," "The economic system of the East Zone," "Man and history," "Political responsibilities of the citizen," "The meaning of existence," "The Christian in industry," "Church history," and "Sexual morality."[1] The number of young working men (there are separate courses for girls) at the Loccum courses is limited to a maximum of twenty-five. The attempt is also made to have about five young workers from each of four or five firms at each course. This makes it possible for cell groups to be organized in each of these firms through which the Academy can continue to work. Members of the Academy staff meet from time to time with these cell groups. During the Young Workers' Courses the Loccum Academy also schedules Pastoral Conferences. The two groups (each with its separate program) use the Academy during the same two-week period. This gives an opportunity for the young people to make personal contacts with the clergy--many for the first time in their life. Bad Boll has shifted its young workers program from courses held at the Academy to summer encampments for young people of the same firm. This new approach is an attempt to get away from some of the sterile discussion and give these youth more of a practical experience in democratic community living.[1]

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[1] Helmut Wagner, "A New Generation of German Labor," Social Research, XXIII (Summer, 1956), 170.

[2] Loccum Rundbrief, XXIV (April, 1953), 7.

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[1] "Arbeiterlehrgang," a protocol of the Evangelical Academy, Loccum, January 15-26, 1953. (Mimeographed.)

In addition to bringing these young people into contact with the Church and the Gospel, these courses have sought to combat the political and civic apathy of a skeptical post-war era, when the cry "Ohne mich" (count me out) was frequently heard. The reactions of the young workers who attended the first Loccum conference are very interesting in this regard.

> From now on I'm going to read the newspaper differently. . . . we have been just bleating most of the time. We have let others do the thinking, speaking and acting. We have just tagged along and allowed ourselves to be pushed around. If things went wrong, and only then, after it was too late, all we did was to grumble. . . . I must become much more interested in politics. . . . Every one of us must take his place in the community and there give a part of his time. Only then can one expect that in the long run things will improve for himself and his neighbor. . . . There is one thing that I can do every day, namely to do my share in the factory, family and congregation. Next week I'm going to listen in at the Congregation Council meeting, but I'm not always going to sit there quietly.[2]

Different Types of Academies

The conference programs of all the Academies in Western Germany cover the whole range of professional and problem areas. Each Academy has provided programs for labor and management, clergy and laity, professors and housewives. However, each Academy has developed its own special emphases. Bad Boll, for example, has been particularly successful in working among the laboring classes and trade unions. It has also been more active than other

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[1] Gottfried Weber, "Dienst an der nichorganisierten Jugend," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 13.

[2] Hermannsburg Rundbrief, XIV, (April, 1953), 10-11.

Academies in political affairs. Hermannsburg (the Academy later moved to Loccum) has had conferences for labor also, but has been more successful with management and government leaders. The Hermannsburg/Loccum Academy has consciously sought to reach men in high places of responsibility. The great journalist and leaders-of-industry retreats at Hermannsburg and Loccum have been centered around those issues considered to be the crucial ones of the moment for the German nation. The best qualified speakers, professors, cabinet ministers, industrial leaders, and others are invited to attend these conferences. The great response among industrial leaders was largely a result of Bishop Lilje's famous Wehrden speech.[1] These conferences have dealt with a whole range of topics including "Management and Labor," "The Nature of Man," "The Welfare State," "The New Social Order," "Human Relations," "Marxism," "The Factory as Community," "Personal Responsibility in Industry," "Prices and Wages," "Bureaucracy," "Man and Machine," and "Mutual Trust and Social-partnership."[2] A conference which attracted nation-wide attention was the meeting of the leading figures of German industry held in the Loccum Cloister October 27, 1951. The invitation to discuss "The Ethical Basis of Political Economy" was sent out by Bishop Lilje in co-operation with the Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie (The German National Association of Manufacturers). Present at this historic meeting were Chancellor

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[1] Hanns Lilje, "Ethos und Daemonie der Technik," Kirche und Welt, pp. 79-89, 181.

[2] From a survey of Wirtschaft Tagungen held at Hermannsburg and Loccum from 1949-1954. (In the files of the Academy.)

Conrad Adenauer and President Hinrich Kopf of Lower Saxony.[1]

The journalist conferences are also characteristic of the special emphasis of the Hannover Academy. These are planned and led by Bishop Lilje himself. Each year he seeks to choose the critical issue of the day for the theme. Through such conferences with their wide press coverage he is able to bring this issue to the attention of the German public. These annual conferences have dealt with these problems: "The Modern Crisis of Man" (1947), "The Depreciation of Words" (1948), "Responsibility before God and Man" (1949), "European Balance" (1950), "Restoration, Tradition and a Positive Renewal" (1951), "The New Powers Forming Our Society" (1952), "The Phenomenon Hitler" (1953), and "Confession, Tolerance, and Politics" (1954). The conference held in 1950, for example, dealt with German's role in a new Europe. Representatives of the Allied Nations were present including U.S. High Commissioner McCloy. This conference was carried by the Northwest and Bavarian German Broadcasting Systems.[2]

The Hofgeismar Academy is characterized by her smaller and more intimate conferences dealing with personal questions of faith and ethics. Although meetings are held for all areas, special emphasis is placed on such matters as "The Sacraments," "The Meaning of Our War Sacrifices," "Sects," "Why Did the Youth Movement Fail?" "Eros--the Life Force," "Sacred Music," "Nature and

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[1] "Bericht ueber die Aussprache zum Thema 'Ethische Grundfragen der Wirtschaftspolitik'" (Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie, Loccum, October, 1951).

[2] Report on the conference, "Tage des Gespraechs fuer Journalisten," May 19-20, 1950, Evangelical Academy Hermannsburg. (Mimeographed.)

Revelation," "Guilt and Expiation," and "What Is Reality?"[1] Hofgeismar has also had a number of meditation conferences. One Academy director has described the Hofgeismar Academy as leaning more toward the Michael Brotherhood tradition of meditation and monasticism. "For this reason Hofgeismar no longer sees the work among the laboring class either as the crucial problem of the future society or as a legitimate task of the Evangelical Academy."[2] Eberhard Mueller has characterized such Academies as Hofgeismar, Tutzing, and Herrnalb as "European," i.e. more fundamental, theoretical, and "spiritual" in their approach. He contrasts this with the more "American" approach of Bad Boll and Loccum with their pragmatic ventures into the world. Mueller suggests this is partly due to the greater freedom of the two earlier Academies. The others were established by their church governments and placed under more control lest they compete too much with the established parishes.[3]

Herrnalb and Tutzing follow closely the pattern of Hofgeismar. The Academy of the Baden Church located in the Black Forest has had conferences on "Death," "War," "Freedom," "Modern Man and the Sacraments," "Protestantism and Europe," "Predestination and Freedom," and "The Power of the Silent Moment."[4] Tutzing, however, has been the most unique of the Academies in selecting special problems and groups for its conferences. At Tutzing the Academy leaders have not sought to reach large numbers, but rather to assemble the "elite" for seminar discussions.[1] The Tutzing Academy is located in the center of a colony of artists, philosophers, and writers. It has naturally taken special interest in these groups. Many of these gifted people have been very distant from the Church. The Academy has moved, therefore, rather cautiously with them. The Tutzing conferences have been designed to appeal to this group. These are some of the topics discussed: "Nature," "Drama Today," "Myth, History and Science," "Misfortune and God's Love--A Study of the Works of Simone Weil," "War Experiences," "The Concept of Time in Aristotle and Heidegger," "What Is Destiny?" "The Secret of Nature," "Kierkegaard and Sartre," "Anthropology," "Life after Death," "Astrology," "Between Appearance and Reality," "Pain," "Anxiety," "*Bios* and *Logos*," "The Body," "Ontology and Personality," "Pre-existence," "Solitude," "The Animal," "Metaphysics of Radio," "Physiognomy," "The Lost Art of Laughing," "Why Write?" "The End of the Modern Age--Works of Romano Guardini," "*Analogia Entis*," "The Traffic Problem," "The Dream," and "Music and Existence."[2]

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[1] From Hofgeismar Rundbriefen during the period of August, 1952 to May, 1954.

[2] Doehring, "Von Hermannsburg nach Loccum." op. cit., p. 380.

[3] Interview with Eberhart Mueller, loc. cit.

[4] From Annual Programs of the Evangelical Academy Herrnalb, 1953-1954. (In the files of the Academy.)

The conference which attracted greatest attention was the one held on "Rhythm" in January, 1954, between pastors and jazz musicians. One of the most famous dance bands in Germany played for the pastors. This was followed by lively discussions on "Jazz--its Biological and Cosmological Origins," "The Dance," and "The Tempo of Life as a Theological Problem." Another Tutzing Conference which the press found especially "newsworthy" was the one held in April, 1953, on "Fashions." Models and dress designers were imported from Munich and a regular fashion show was presented at the Academy. Tutzing has also included in its program conferences for special "minority" groups with their own peculiar problems. In June 1950, a conference was held for those who visited the nearby Passion Play at Overammergau. A few months later a retreat was held for unmarried mothers. A conference on the sermon for pastors and laity met in Tutzing in October, 1950. In December of the next year a week-end was set aside for pastors' children between the ages of seventeen and seventy. A conference for police captains and sheriffs was held in February, 1954, and as part of the program the American film "High Noon" was shown and discussed. Special programs have also been presented in Tutzing for old people, pastors' wives, students about to take examinations, people interested in a Protestant religious order, and woman's clubs. On several occasions skilled and unskilled laborers have been brought to Tutzing not to discuss problems of wages, union, and management, but rather to read and discuss the works of Sophocles, Stalin, and Thornton Wilder. These conferences have had remarkable response among the workers. Tutzing has also been characterized in her work by her many conferences held outside of the permanent Academy site. Academy meetings have been held in

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[1] Interview with Dr. von Burgsdorff, Director Tutzing Academy Hauskreise, Tutzing, June 7, 1954.

[2] From Annual Programs of the Evangelical Academy Tutzing, 1950-1956. (In the files of the Academy.)

Upper Franconia, Regensburg, Nuernberg, Munich, Stein, Bayreuth, Austria, and Finland.

The work of the Hamburg Academy has its own special character due to its location in the center of a great metropolis. Public lectures are sponsored and are usually attended by three to five hundred people. However, all of its work is not done on a mass scale. Some week-end retreats are held in various places near Hamburg. The discussion and intimate contacts so typical of the Academy approach are to be found in Hamburg's "Study Circles." These special interest groups are led by specialists in various fields. There are study circles for science, ecumenical problems, Catholic and Protestant issues, psychotherapy and pastoral theology, marriage, social-political questions, Christianity and business, former soldiers, and Marxism.[1] In addition to those groups the Academy sponsors a series of weekly or bi-weekly lectures at the Hamburg University on questions relating to the Christian faith. Most of the large public addresses are also held at the University. These have dealt with such topics as, "Philosophy, History and Natural Science," "Medicine and Theology," "The Church and Contemporary Social Problems," "What Is Freedom?" "Reason and Revelation," "The Christian Statesman," and "Psychology and Psychiatry."[2] From time to time a week of special programs under a single theme has been sponsored by the Hamburg Academy. In November, 1950, for example, a "Theater Week" (part of a planned series on "The

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[1] Letter from Gerhard Guenther, Director, Hamburg Evangelical Academy, July 7, 1954.

[2] Ibid.

Church and the Arts") was held consisting of lectures, plays, and discussion groups. During the evenings of this week a number of dramatic works were presented and during the mornings study groups met for lectures and discussions.[1]

Another type of Academy is illustrated by the research institutes and seminar programs of such centers as Hemer, Friedewald, and Ilsenburg.[2] These centers deal academically with the practical problems arising out of the life of the Church and her encounter with the world. The research in Hemer is carried on by a number of scholars from various German universities. There are four main areas of investigation: "Theology and Natural Science," "History of Art and Theology," "Christianity and Humanism," and "Questions of Law."[3] Conferences for theologians and natural scientists are held annually usually in Goettingen. The work in this area has been possible largely through the gifted Professor C. F. von Weizsaecker. The program in the area of "Christianity and Humanism" has dealt primarily with questions of education. This work has been more open to the public than the others, since school teachers from Westphalia were invited to the conferences. The fourth area of research includes a number of specialized problems. One commission is studying marriage and family laws; another is concerned with the theological basis of law; a third (initiated by Bishop Berggrav's famous 1952 lecture) is investigating the Lutheran concept of the state; and a fourth is doing research work on the reform of penal law.[1] Hemer is not a lay training center as are the other Academies. It is rather a study center for specialists. However, a program to reach a greater public is carried out through public lectures sponsored by Hemer throughout Germany. These lectures are given to various clubs, labor and industry groups, adult education centers (*Volkshochschulen*), and various civic organizations.[2] In January, 1953, Hemer placed a staff member in the Saarland to give lectures and organize an "Evangelical Week."[3] The work at Hemer is done in close co-operation with the nine supporting Territorial Churchs, the Kirchentag (Dr. Howe and Dr. Dombois of the Hemer staff lead two of the Work Groups of the Kirchentag), the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey, the Ecumenical Office of the EKiD and the other Academies. Close contact is also maintained with the Study Commission of the Evangelical Academy. The results of the research program at Hemer are being published under a series entitled *Glaube und Forschung*.[4] Other books have been Schumann's *Europa* in Evangelische Sicht, Hans Dombois' Strukturelle Staatslehre, and Friedrich Schumann's Wort und Wirklichkeit.

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[1] Brochure, "Theater Woche," Evangelical Academy Hamburg, undated. (In the files of the Academy.)

[2] Cf. Appendix II, pp. 240 ff. for a description of these centers.

[3] Letter from Dr. Hans Dombois, Director, Evangelical Academy Hemer, July 6, 1954.

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[1] Hans Dombois, "Die Evangelische Forschungs-Akademie Christophorus-Stift in Hemer," *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* (Barlin), March 15, 1956, pp. 109-11.

[2] *Kirche in der Zeit*, VI (January, 1951), 13.

[3] Annual Report of the Christophorus Stifts, Hemer, 1950-1953. (In the files of the Academy.)

[4] Cf. Friedrich Schumann, *Ueberwindung des Saekularismus in der Wissenschaft*; Guenther Howe, *Gespraech zwischen Theologie und Physik*; Werner Kohlschmidt, *Die Entzweite Welt*, Hans Dombois, *Glaube, Recht, Europe*; Whilhelm Schuessler, *Um das Geschichtsbild-Notwendigkeit und Grenzen der Revision*, all published by Freizeiten-Verlag, Gladbeck.

The Study Commission of the Academy

Some of the Academies have their own study and research program. Loccum, for example, has staff members for the study of refugee problems, Marxism, catechetical instruction, and social-political economy. Tutzing has some conferences in the form of seminars while Hemer and Friedewald carry on extensive research projects. All of the Academies, however, co-operate in the work of the Study Commission of the Evangelical Academy. This commission was called into existence by the Academy directors at Echzell in February, 1947. The purpose of this work was stated in the "Echzell Declaration."

> The Word of God, which became flesh in Jesus Christ, can not be thought of nor believed as a timeless truth. The Church must search out men in the place where they live, namely in their occupation, in their spiritual and cultural training, and in their personal experiences. The recognition of this fact is the basis for the Evangelical Academy's existence. The name, "Academy", is used here because in such centers men explore the foundations of their existence and encounter the truth through dialogue. To accomplish this work two things are required: (1) The Church must learn to understand the tasks, needs, and ideas with which modern man is occupied in his daily life. The Evangelical Academy conducts the discussions usually in the context of individual occupations. (2) The Church must make her message understandable in terms of the language of our time.[1]

The Study Commission seeks to fulfill these two requirements by scholarly research into the various technical and spiritual problems of our day. Questions continue to flow from the Academy conferences and require thorough theological study to relate them to the Christian faith. In doing this work the Study Commission also has the task of co-ordinating the thinking and judgments of the Protestant Churches in Germany. It is important that the Churches make clear and definite statements whenever they find it necessary to speak out publicly on a united front.[1] In a letter to the six Territorial Churches which were supporting the work of the Evangelical Academies, Professor Thielicke, then executive secretary of the Study Commission, made an urgent appeal for continued support of this work.

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[1] Hans Hermann Walz, "Evangelische Akademie," Zeitwende, XX (April, 1949), 776.

> The Catholic Church has an army of intellectuals to call upon, but the Protestant Church has few. In the academy conferences we enter discussions with such men as physicists and find ourselves theologically unequipped. Among all the prominent theologians there simply is no one trained even in the elementary facts of physics. However, from the scientists we are asked acute theological questions. We must promote an exchange between these groups even if we lack sufficient strength. We need to be advised. . . . We need to select gifted students in various fields to tackle these questions.[2]

One of the techniques which the Study Commission employs to find talented students is the annual essay contest. Several topics are selected upon which students are invited to submit theses. The first contest was held in 1949 and a prize of 500 D. M. was offered for the best essay on such topics as "Is a Protestant Pedagogy Possible?" "The Origin of the Concept of Myth in Modern Biblical Research," "The Understanding of the Person in Modern Medical Thought," and "The Problem of Humanity in Marxism." In 1951 the prize was raised to 1000 D. M. and awarded to the best essay on each of these themes: "Compromise as an Ethical Problem," "The Question of property in Modern Society," and "Christian Self-understanding and Its Expression in German Lyrics since 1930."[1]

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[1] Letter from the Evangelical Academy Bad Boll to all Hauskreisen, November, 1947. (In the files of the Academy.)

[2] Letter from Professor Thielicke, Executive Secretary of the Study Commission of the Evangelical Academy, Stuttgart, April 1, 1948. (In the files of the Loccum Academy.)

In addition to the general meetings of the Study Commission smaller study groups meet to deal with questions in specialized areas. The results of this more intense research are presented at the larger general sessions and also published in the form of books and pamphlets. The publications of the Study Commission are usually of a technical nature and intended for a more limited audience. The discussions being carried out in the Study Commission and in the Academies appear in print from time to time in such periodicals as Die Neue Furche, Quatember, Kirche in der Zeit, and Evangelische Theologie. German scientific and professional journals also carry Academy lectures and articles which deal with their own field. Of particular significance was the October 19, 1955, edition of the weekly newspaper, Das Parlament, which devoted ten full pages containing fifteen leading articles to the work of the Evangelical Academy. This was in recognition of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the first Academy.

Co-operation among the Academies

Since the early days of the Evangelical Academy the leaders have sought to co-ordinate the work through various methods. It is important, for example, in the planning of conferences to avoid unnecessary overlapping, competition, and conflicts of speakers. In addition, all the Academies need the advice and experiences their sister Academies have to share with them. They also need a united front in asking the Territorial Churches and other groups for financial aid. A united voice is also necessary to represent the views and concerns of the Evangelical Academy to EKiD, government officials and agencies, labor, management, and others. The Academies also need each other in undertaking joint research projects through the Study Commission, in locating good lecturers in the many areas they deal with, and in publishing various findings of the Academy programs. By having a united group through which to work it has also been much easier for the Evangelical Academy to share equally in ecumenical gifts. In addition their co-operation adds strength to their support of the Kirchentag, Church Weeks, the Protestant Action Committee for Workers' Questions, and other programs.

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[1] Kirche in der Zeit, VI (September, 1951), 209.

The co-ordinating body for all these activities has been the Leaders' Circle of the Evangelical Academy. It employs a full time secretary with a permanent office in Bad Boll. One of the most significant undertakings of this group was the meeting it sponsored in November, 1951, in Koenigswinter. Leading men of the Protestant Church in Germany, such as Bishops Dibelius, Meiser, and Lilje, were brought together with Chancellor Adenauer for private discussions. The main topic of this encounter between the Catholic head of the Federal Republic and twenty-five Protestant leaders was the re-unification of Germany. A great deal of suspicion had been aroused among German Protestants over increasing Catholic pressure in Bonn. The Academy leaders sought through this personal encounter to clear the political atmosphere of mistrust.[1]

In 1955 the scope of the co-operation was considerably enlarged by the establishment of the European Directors' Conference of the Protestant Lay Institutes and Academies. Leaders of similar work in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Holland, France, Switzerland, and Germany met in Bad Boll at the suggestion of Olav Hartmann of Sigtuna. The representatives from other countries were eager to benefit from the new impulses generated by the Academy program in Germany. A committee was selected and a general secretary placed in Bad Boll to co-ordinate this work. The second meeting of the European Directors' Conference was held in 1956 in the "Kerk-en-Wereld" lay institute in Driebergen, Holland.[2]

In the Evangelical Academy the German Church found a form which brought her into contact with the wide expanse of modern life. Yet it was a form in which she retained her central message and concern. This new venture had been bold and experimental, but its results were convincing. In the Evangelical Academy the Church had found new life and effectiveness by adopting a new form. These new centers were at least one important answer by the Church to the challenge of Treysa: "To influence to a far greater extent than previously the forming of the public and especially of the political community [in Germany]."[3] As a result of the work of the Academy the German public has come to a fresh discovery of the Church. Many areas of the disrupted German social order which has sought to reshape itself after the war have been directly influenced by the Church through the Evangelical Academy.

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[1] Frankfurter Neue Presse, November 13, 1951.

[2] Kirche in der Zeit, X (October, 1955), 223.

[3] Soehlman, op. cit.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE GROUND

The first chapters of this study of the Evangelical Academy have been devoted to background and history. We now turn our attention to the question of the significance of the Evangelical Academy for Christian social ethics. Our first task has been to describe the Academy, its various programs and activities. The Academy, as we have noted, is not the product of one single theological or ecclesiastical group. We have seen how the idea of an Academy has developed over a long period of time. It is still undergoing various changes. The Evangelical Academy was translated from idea into fact quite spontaneously as the result of the existence of certain favorable conditions. Its development has proceeded somewhat **experimentally**; it has been a venture (*Wagnis*) of faith. The Academy has thus departed quite significantly from the typical German procedure of placing solid theory before practice. Much of the theory underlying the Academy approach has been forged in the heat of practical experiences. It has also been evident from our survey of the development of the Evangelical Academies that within this one movement there are a number of differing views as to the purpose, role, and method of the Academy.

All of these considerations make it difficult if not impossible to associate the Evangelical Academy with one particular

Church or theological position. One can, however, speak of the theological significance of the Academy movement particularly in regard to Christian social ethics. In this chapter we shall deal in general with the social-ethical significance of the Academy and in particular with the methods used by this new program to implement its theological and ethical concerns.

"Die Welt ist Anders Geworden"

Before we can understand the theological or ethical answers the Evangelical Academy provides for the problems of the modern world, we must first take cognizance of the situation to which the Evangelical Academy addresses itself. The world which the Academy confronts has been described by Eberhard Mueller in his famous article in Die Neue Furche, "Die Welt is anders geworden" ("The world has changed").[1] It is noteworthy that the argument of this article is very similar to that of Das Berneuchener Buch of the Michael Brotherhood published a generation earlier.[2] Both can be described as challenges of new movements within the Church to awaken the Church to the needs of a rapidly changing world. Mueller addressed himself to the parish pastors seeking to persuade them to take a fresh look at the world and discover the tremendous changes that have taken place. On the basis of seven years of Academy experience which had brought him into close contact with representatives of all areas of modern life he was keenly aware of the grave problems faced by the Church. Mueller's article was in effect a manifesto to the Church.

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[1] Eberhard Mueller, "Die Welt istanders geworden," Die Neue Furche, VII (February, March, April, 1953); also published separately under the title, Die Welt ist Anders Geworden: Fragen an die Kirche (Stuttgart: Verlag die Neue Furche, 1953). Cf. also Mueller, "Der Strukturwandel des menschlichen Lebens," Die Kirche und die Welt der industriellen Arbeit, ed. Klaus von Bismark (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1955), pp. 29-41. Mueller characterizes the modern world with the words, "collectivism, specialization, and disintegration." The Church, he argues, is seriously hampered in meeting the challenge of the modern world because of her middle class individualism, her conservatism, and her parochialism.

[2] Supra, Chapter II, pp. 24 f.

Let us review the salient aspects of the socio-religious scene in Germany as suggested by Mueller and other Christian analysts. Many of them make the point that the Church and the world have become strangers. The "secularized" world is no longer aware of any self-transcendent meaning while the Church has lost a sense of responsibility toward a world in which it appears as though God is no longer actively at work.[1] This divorce of the world and the Church has led to an autonomous existence for both. The world has become atomized into self-sufficient fragments each claiming laws of its own (Eigengesetzlichkeiten). The Church finds herself divided into separate and autonomous "spiritualities." The world no longer feels a need for religion. There no longer is a place for God in the world. Men supply their own answers to the questions once answered by the Church. The world is on its own. It has, to use the phrase of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "reached its majority" (ist mundig geworden).

> There is no longer any need for God as a working hypothesis, whether in morals, politics or science. Nor is there any need for such a God in religion or philosophy (Feuerbach). In the name of intellectual honesty these working hypotheses should be dropped or dispensed with as far as possible. A scientist or physician who seeks to provide edification is a

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[1] For our use of the word "secular" cf Chapter I, p. 7.

> hybrid. At this point nervous souls start asking what room is left for God now. And being ignorant of the answer they write off the whole development which has brought them to this pass.[1]

The great technical changes in the modern world have further caused the isolation of the Church from the world. Men's occupations have become separated from the household and from the residential community where the Church may still exercise some influence. Occupations now belong to the industrial world where the demands for efficiency and specialization have isolated them as well within the industrial community. Although the industrial age has brought men together in unexpected ways, it has failed to unite them. Millions work together but know little or nothing about their fellow-workers. Men have become isolated in their professions and live in a world with which the clergy have little, if any, contact. The above are some of the points that Mueller also makes. He writes,

> Scientific and technical progress has led to such specialization in the realm of human existence that it is simply impossible for the pastor to survey all the varied activities. On the basis of his professional training he finds it impossible to remain in close spiritual contact equally with all the members of his congregation. For centuries people in a town or city congregation lived together as it were in one great room. From his elevated pulpit the pastor could observe all that took place. Man's work and his family life all existed under the same roof. In this household the pastor was a frequent guest. The problems of the household were known by the pastor and he was able to give advice and comfort in accordance with his office. But the moment such a community was caught in the fly-wheel of modern collective labor its unity was destroyed. The greatest part of our life, i.e. that which claims most of man's thoughts, has disappeared from the pastor's field of vision. . . . These areas remain removed

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[1] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Prisoner for God, ed. Eberhard Bethge, trans. R. H. Fuller (New York: Macmillan Company, 1954), p. 163.

> from the preaching of the Gospel because they are unknown to the pastor. The realization of the will of God which played such an important role in Jesus' sermons on the concept of mammon is regarded today as utopian. In modern life the handling of money and goods takes place, for the greatest part, under conditions almost completely removed from the moral judgment of the preacher. Furthermore, beneath these dealings lie supra-personal necessities which the individual is unable to change.[1]

The importance of the parochial community in which the Church played a significant role has been greatly affected by modern industrial life. The new kind of society which has taken its place has been described by Paul Tillich as a mass "formed by soldering together atomized individuals."[2] Men have been thrown together by their common service to the machine in collectivities which destroy the natural bonds and partnership of the old parochial community.[3] One social analyst has described the members of modern mass society as follows:

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[1] Mueller, op. cit., pp. 4-5. Cf. also Horst Symanowski, "Die Kirchenfremde Mensch in der Welt der industriellen Arbeit," Die Kirche und die Welt der Arbeit, ed. von Bismark, pp. 53-61. The failure of the Church's preaching is cited by Bonhoeffer. He argues that the attack by Christian apologists on the "mature" (mundig) world is senseless, in poor taste, and unchristian. "It is meaningless because it appears to me that this attempt is like taking someone who has become a man and placing him back in his adolescence. It seeks to make one dependent on all those things on which he is in fact no longer dependent. One is thrust into problems which simply are no longer his own problems. This apologetic is in poor taste because here it is sought to utilize one's weaknesses for purposes which are foreign to him and for which he has not been consulted. Finally the attack of this Christian apologetic against the mature world is unchristian because Christ is mistaken for a certain level of human religiosity, i.e. for a human law." Bonhoeffer, Widerstand und Ergebung (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1952), pp. 217-18.

[2] Tillich, The Religious Situation, p. 77.

[3] Emil Guilleame describes this process in his discussion of types of communities in Ueberwindung der Masse (Koeln: West Deutsche Verlag, 1954).

> They are superficially attached to the bare skeleton of formal organization but lacking the old feeling of belongingness. Each of the sociologists--Durkheim, LeBon, Figgis, Brooks Adams--who began, just after World War I, to point out the signs of decay in our society, used the same metaphor. They said that society was becoming a dust heap of individuals without links to one another.[1]

The theologians lofty phrases about vocation and the divinely instituted orders of creation make little sense to the laborer who feels himself the object of impersonal processes. He no longer determines his own life. Decisions are made far above him and the alternatives between which he must choose are not his to decide. In a society based on power relationships it is difficult to teach responsibility toward God and one's fellow men. In an economy based on utility it becomes increasingly difficult to give religious meaning to one's occupation.

This is the world of which Mueller and other Academy leaders sought to make the Church aware. Only a few church leaders were in actuality aware of these significant developments in modern life.[2] Among these few leaders was Otto Dibelius whose warnings had been issued shortly after the First World War.

> The triumph of the machine has brought about a new era for all mankind. Its effects are being felt in every area of life. Everywhere the cry is "community of fate" (Schicksalsgemeinschaft). There is no longer any independence from the total life of mankind. Whatever the individual does, whether he works in the intellectual atmosphere of the study, pushes a plow into the hard earth, sits at a desk writing figures into a book or designs machines on a drawing board, he is always bound to the life about him. He is dependent on the tools which others give him, the raw materials which come from

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[1] George Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950), p. 457.

[2] H. D. Wendland is one who has clearly seen the sociological significance for the Church of the breakdown of the traditional "village parish." Cf. Wendland, Die Kirche in der Modernen Gesellschaft, p. 306.

> across the ocean and the work opportunities which the political, economic and social conditions offer him. Everywhere man's labor stands under the sign of collectivity. The strength of the individual is inadequate to master the powerful forces surrounding him.[1]

The Church was poorly prepared to meet this challenge of the modern industrial world. Her retreat from the world and her emphasis on individual salvation caused some to raise the question whether Protestantism could survive in a mass society.[2] One of the earliest statements of the Evangelical Academy pointed to this crisis of the Protestant Church.

> In the nineteenth century the Protestant Church went on the defensive. She was satisfied to have just a small closet in the great house of the intellectual world. In the face of powerful modern science she was satisfied to establish her right to exist and then to be left alone. It was almost taken for granted by the general public and the majority of the devout that the influence of the Church in other spheres of life, such as art, science, politics, economics, education, legal affairs and the social order constituted meddling beyond the range of the Church's responsibility.[3]

A further charge was made that the man of the modern world had been abandoned by the Church to face the perplexing questions of the social order and his occupation by himself. In every occupation men were faced with questions they could not answer, and were at a loss to know where to find the answers. There was no one to counsel the consciences of the man who lived in the "secular" world. Like Jonah the Church refused to bring God's message to the "Nineveh's" of the modern world. Instead the Church, in the spirit of the age, specialized in "spiritual" matters. After a period of liberal theology the Church returned to the "One" and the "Essential." A sharp line was drawn between the natural and the supernatural, between man and God, between the world and the Church. All attempts to find a point of contact became suspect. The result was a one-way street of spiritual instruction from the pulpit by those who had specialized in theology but otherwise had little contact with the everyday affairs of the world.[1] Matters which could not be treated from the pulpit were excluded from consideration and simply left to the unguided conscience of the individual.

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[1] Dibelius, Das Jahrhundert der Kirche, p. 124.

[2] Cf. Tillich, "Protestantism in the Present World Situation," American Journal of Sociology, II (September, 1937), 236-48.

[3] Evangelische Akademie, Anniversary Booklet published by the Evangelical Academy Bad Boll (Stuttgart: Belserdruck, 1946), pp. 3-4.

> All questions and discussions concerning Christianity and science, natural religion and dogmatic faith. . . appear no longer in a dialogue between the Church and the world, but only in a monologue of the Church with herself. . . . The explanations of the Church do not have the character of penetrating beyond herself, but rather only of providing comfort for the doubts the Church herself has.[2]

These concerned critics also charged that the Church had failed to meet the needs of the modern world by ignoring the collectivities in which the individual had to live. She has not yet fully grasped the significance of the mass nature of modern life. The Church does not hesitate to denounce the evils of contemporary society but she does so in a way which assumes that the individual has it within his power to change the total situation. Today it is no longer a matter simply of the individual but of the group.

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[1] Eberhard Mueller, "The Evangelical Academies," Christian News Letter, II (July, 1954), 133.

[2] Helmut Thielicke, Fragen des Christentum an die Moderne Welt (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1947), p. 10.

Mueller seriously questions the clergy's awareness of this important social fact.

> Is the pastor aware of the rules that have to be followed in various areas? Does he know how a journalist might maintain his ground in the cross fire between the demands of the public, newspaper advertiser, the publisher and his own sense of truth and concern for humanity? Does the pastor realize how a politician might close the flood gates of hate and check the advance of war? No, he does not know nor can he know anymore than the representatives of these occupations themselves.[1]

This tragic gulf between the Church and the world came into focus in the Church struggle of the 1930's. The leaders of the Academy grew up in a time when it had been necessary because of a secularized Gospel and the utopian faiths of social and political ideologies to extricate the Church's message and re-affirm its distinctness. The open conflict between the German Church and the "secularized" state re-awakened the Church to her real mission and reminded her of the demonic forces opposing her. This "catacomb" experience of the Church forced her to re-examine her faith and recover the essential elements. But when the struggle was over and new possibilities were given the Church in the spiritual vacuum following the war it became clear to many that the Church could not remain in her ghetto.

> By the end of the Second World War the close contact between the Church and world was almost completely destroyed. From the side of the world the connection had been broken off, while the Church on her part had in the last decade stressed more the majesty of God against the claims of the world than witness to the reality of God in the life of the world.[2]

Despite all the Church had learned in her forced imprisonment her real responsibilities lay not in driving a wedge between herself and the world, but in properly relating them.

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[1] Mueller, Die Welt ist Anders Geworden, p. 6.

[2] Mueller-Schwefe, "Neuer Weg nach Ninive," Sonntagsblatt (Hannover), November 25, 1951, p. 23.

Replacing the Center

The gulf between the Church and the world which has led to the establishing of the Evangelical Academy had been recognized by the theologians of various schools. The central problem in formulating a Christian social ethic has been that of finding some way to overcome this rift. It is characterized in various ways as the separation of faith and life, theory and practice, dualism of a dispositional and situational ethic and absolute and relative morality. The problem in modern Christian social-ethical theory arises from the realization that these two poles must be related, yet their distinction must be maintained. The experiences of the Church in our generation have revealed the dangers of limiting the range of Christian ethical responsibility to private morality or of surrendering the uniqueness of the Gospel to new forms of social chiliasm. The fate of previous ethical systems has demonstrated the dangers of the Scylla and Charybdis between which social-ethical theory must travel. Contemporary theologians are apt to move warily in developing their theories with a sharp eye on the dangers, yet with considerable hesitation about charting a clear and definite course. The theoretical side of the problem has involved the search for some theological concept or philosophical principle which will provide such a reliable point for keeping our course and preventing disaster from either side.

The social ethical theories advanced by many contemporary theologians reveal this search for a formulation which will keep us in the middle, or to change the metaphor, which will bridge the gulf. There are those who propose basing social ethics on a new Christological emphasis which sees Christ as the king over both the world and the Church. The reign of Christ is traced through both realms and a Biblical basis for the civil order as well as the Church is sought in the message of the Gospel.[1] Others have sought the answer in a social ethic based on the doctrine of the orders of creation.[2] Attempts have been made to find a Christian interpretaion of natural law theory which will provide a basis for an adequate social ethic.[3] Scholars have investigated the ethical theories of the Reformers and suggested the doctrine of the orders or mandates,[4] or a new emphasis on vocation as the solution.[1] An ethic of compromise has been suggested whereby one reasons "from the extreme limits" to see the final significance of a position before charting the middle course.[2] The principle of co-relation has been suggested by others to find the points of contact between Christian theology and the social-ethical problems of a highly specialized and departmentalized society.[3] The doctrine of justification has been suggested as providing a uniting and over-arching principle.[4] Eschatology has also been advanced as the missing key stone.[5] Whether it be a conscious attempt to

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[1] Cf. Karl Barth, *Rechtfertigung und Recht*, Vol. I: *Theologische Studien* (Zuerich: Zollikon, 1938); Karl Barth, *Christengemeinde und Burgergemeinde*, Vol. XX: *Theologische Studien* (Zuerich: Zollikon, 1946); Jacques Ellul, *Die Theologische Begruendung des Rechtes*, Vol. X: *Beitraege zur evangelische Theologie* (Munich: 1948); Alfred de Quervain, *Ethik* (2 vols.; Zuerich: Zollikon, 1942, 1945).

[2] Cf. Werner Elert, *Das christliche Ethos* (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1949; Paul Althaus, *Theologie der Ordnungen* (2d ed.; Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1935); Paul Althaus, *Grundriss der Ethik* (2d ed. rev.; Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1953).

[3] See, for example, Emil Brunner, *Justice and the Social Order* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945), pp. 16-20, 85-95. For a summary of attempts to develop new natural law theories, see Heinz H. Schrey, "Die Wiedergeburt des Naturrechts," *Theologische Rundschau: Neue Folge*, XIX (February, March, 1951), 154-221. See also Thielicke's chapter on "Natural law and the doctrine of the orders," *Ethik*, I (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1951), 604-713, and Ernst Wolf's discussion of the "law of Christ" in his article, "Natuerliches Gesetz und Gesetz Christi bei Luther," *Evangelische Theologie*, II (August, 1935), 305 ff. For a brief but valuable survey of the various approaches to this problem see *The Bible and and the Church's Message to the World*, World Council of Churches Information Bulletin No. A. 2 (Geneva: October, 1950).

[4] Cf. Brunner's discussion in Book III of his *The Divine Imperative*, trans. Olive Wyon (2d ed.; London: Lutterworth Press,

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1953). See also Dietrich Bonhoeffer's discussion of the mandates in his Ethik, ed. Eberhard Bethge (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1953), pp. 70-74.

[1] The concept of vocation has been freshly treated by Gustaf Wingren, Luther's Lehre vom Beruf (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1952). Cf. also Harald Diem's treatment of Luther's education of the Christian conscience in Chapter III of Luther's Lehre von dem zwei Reichen (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1938).

[2] Cf. Thielicke's concept of Grenzsituationen and his treatment of ethical compromise in Chapter II, Ethik, Vol. II.

[3] See, for example, Tillich, Kairos II: Protestantismus als Kritik und Gestaltung (Darmstadt: Reichl, 1929), pp. 32 ff. Cf. Brunner's approach to a Christian anthropology, Man in Revolt, trans. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1947), p. 69.

[4] Ernst Wolf relates civil righteousness to the doctrine of justification in his article, "Politia Christi," Evangelische Theologie, II (August, 1948), 305-30. Thielicke also employs the same doctrine in showing that the basis of Christian ethics is the simul of the doctrine of justification. Cf. Ethik, I, 69.

[5] Wendland, op. cit., pp. 105-23. Cf. also Wendland's article, "The Relevance of Eschatology for Social Ethics," The Ecumenical Review, V (July, 1953), 364-68. See also Amos Wilder, "Kerygma, Eschatology and Social Ethics," The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, eds. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: University Press, 1956). An excellent survey of eschatology and ethics is found in Wolfgang Schweitzer (ed.), Eschatologie und Ethik (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1951).

formulate "middle axioms"[1] or not the present search for a Christian social-ethical theory has been characterized by the common concern to relate rather than drive apart the Church and the world.

The question with which the Evangelical Academy has been concerned is not so much which of these solutions is correct, but rather whether or not all such theories may be premature. The Academy is convinced that prior to the formulation of adequate theories the underlying questions and problems must be carefully determined. It is highly significant that the Evangelical Academy from the outset has been wary of social-ethical systems. The Academy does not seek any great world synthesis, but is concerned in the first place in discovering the actual problems of modern life. Solutions which come too quickly and easily are dangerous.[2] One of the most important insights of this work has been the realization that the Church has lost contact with modern life. Her theologians are also isolated from the modern world. The world no longer bothers to ask nor expects an answer from the theologians who are unaware of its questions and problems. This problem had been noted and described decades ago by Ernst Troeltsch:

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[1] This term which is now widely used was, for example, employed at the Oxford Conference by J. H. Oldham. Cf. Report of Section III, The Oxford Conference, Official Report of the World Conference on Church, Community and State (Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1937). See also Ernst Wolf's discussion of Bestimmungsnormen in his article, "Gottesrecht und Menschenrecht," Theologische Existenz Heute: Neue Folge, No. 42 (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1954). On the importance of "middle principles" cf. William Temple, Christianity and Social Order (3d ed.; London: SCM Press, 1955), pp. 27-30, 47 ff.

[2] Erwin Metzke, "Die evangelische Akademien und das 'christliche Weltbild,'" Die Neue Furche, VI (July, 1952), 448.

> All Christian-Social work is in a problematic condition. It is problematic in general because the power of thought to overcome brutal reality is always an obscure and difficult question; it is problematic in particular because the main historic forms of the Christian doctrine of society and of social development are to-day, for various reasons, impotent in the face of the tasks by which they are confronted.[1]

The gulf between the Church and the world is the problem, the initial problem with which Christian social ethics must concern itself. Our day, as a famous art historian has described it, has been deprived of its center. On the one side of our modern "Golgotha" the believers await the coming paradise while on the other side men die without hope or counsel. The space between, once occupied by the Mediator, remains empty.[2] The Evangelical Academy has refused to formulate any social-ethical system for the Church out of the conviction that before this can be done the Church must occupy the mediating center, she must make contact with the world. This is the prerequisite to solid social-ethical theory. The Academy has sought to provide not middle principles, but the middle "ground" out of which an adequate Christian social ethic can grow. Thus the methods of the Academy are integral to its role and task.

The Middle Ground

The Academy has recognized that it is not so much the theory of the Church which has been placed in question as it is her structure. The Academy leaders have, therefore, sought a new form of the Church which will provide the missing area of encounter between the Church and the world. Such a place must exist to provide the stuff for formulating a Christian social ethic for our day. Neither the pastor's study, the theologian's library, the congregation, nor any institution of the Church in Germany could provide this middle ground. A new form of Church life and work had to be found.

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[1] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, II, trans. Olive Wyon (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1950), 102.

[2] This description is taken from Hans Sedlmayr, Verlust der Mitte, as cited by Otto Dilschneider, Gefasselte Kirche (Stuttgart: Evangelische Verlagswerk, 1953), p. 18.

> It is not primarily in the sphere of formal worship that the Evangelical Academy seeks to render its service to the Church, but in the area of providing an open, unprejudiced and unrestricted encounter with the world, that is with all with whom we have to do in our daily life in the community, in the home, and individually. Everyone is welcome to participate whether he is a member of the Church or not. Here one can speak freely what is on his heart. The Church understands this completely because here too she expresses what is on her heart. The Evangelical Academy is a *platform* on which the Church speaks equally to men without pomp or pathos.[1] [Italics mine.]

The Academy has also been descried as a "bridge," "forum," and a "place of encounter."[2] All of these descriptions attest to the Academy's role in bringing the Church into contact with the world. The Academy is what H. D. Wendland has described as a "middle form" of Christian society, one which provides a place where the Church steps outside of her doors to meet with representatives of all areas of the secular world.[3] In the Academy the Church enters the world not to deliver divine ultimatums or to sell heavenly prescriptions, but to listen and to learn.

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[1] Hans Schomerus, "Einst christl. Erholungsheim--heute Evang. Akademie," Paper read at the opening of the new home of the Herrnalb Academy, May, 1953, p. 3. (Mimeographed and in the files of the Academy.)

[2] Mueller-Schwefe, *loc. cit*.

[3] Wendland, *op. cit*., pp. 102-03.

> The leaders of this movement realize that the Church can, and frequently does, answer this question [about the existence of God] to its own satisfaction without impressing the non-believer. They want to get the Church out of the old rut of absorption in ecclesiastical matters into open encounter with the world where alone this question can be grappled with.[1]

The older apologetic approach of defending the Church by issuing proclamations concerning the "Church and Labor," "Church and Science," etc. has been rejected. The Academy has sought, rather, to understand and speak with modern man in terms of his concrete existence, standing where he stands, instead of speaking "to" him. In the words of one director, "We must find a way beyond the dialectical theology of Barth, a way which does not lead back to the nineteenth century, but to a theology which finds points of contact with the problems of the modern world."[2] Another German theologian has described this is a theology which is concerned "to get in touch with man."[3] To accomplish this the Academy has had to learn the art of dialogue.[4] This has required a type of kenosis on the part of the Church. In the Academy the Church takes on the humble role of the listener, of allowing herself to be questioned and to become questionable.[5] This discipline of the neutrality and honesty of one concerned with the truth and willing to learn is possible because the Christian is one who has been freed from the world's ideologies, yet remains responsibly bound to the world.[1] The Academy has boldly entered into the arena of the world's problems in tackling economic, political, social, and scientific questions, yet without becoming merely a debating platform. Neither has the Academy submitted to the demonic forces of a "secular" world. In order to keep its sense of direction the Academy has learned to exercise a certain "innerworldly asceticism."[2] The aim of the Academy is to demythologize and de-ideologize the "secular" and to deal with its problems concrerely and objectively. In every conference the Academy insists on factual, objective, and honest discussion between experts in various fields. In the Academy the Church takes the world seriously because she knows that though she is not to be "of" the world, nevertheless her service to God lies "in" and "to" the world. In the Academy the German Church is answering the challenge of the first thesis of the Barmen Declaration:

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[1] Bliss, loc. cit., p. 4.

[2] Interview with Dr. von Nehrling, director of the Evangelical Academy Hamburg, May, 1955. See also Eberhard Mueller's article, "Kontaktpflege," Sonntagsblatt (Hannover), No. 19, May, 1953, p. 24.

[3] Edmund Schlink, Der Mensch in der Verkuendigung der Kirche (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1936), p. 243.

[4] Infra, p.130ff,section on "Dialogue."

[5] Cf. Doehring's discussion of dialogue in the presence of Christ who makes us "question-able," "Von Hermannsburg nach Loccum," op. cit., p. 381.

> As Jesus Christ is God's claim to the forgiveness of all our sins, so He is also to be taken seriously as God's powerful claim to our total life. Through Him we are released from a godless servitude to this world to a free and grateful service to God's creation. We reject the false doctrine that there are areas of our life in which we are to accept other

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[1] Wendland, op. cit., p. 43.

[2] Ernst Lohmeyer describes the "innerworldly asceticism" of the early Church's service to Christ within the world in order to redeem it. See Lohmeyer, Soziale Fragen im Urchristentum, CLXXII, Wissenschaft und Bildung (Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle und Meyer, 1921), 91 ff. For a more complete treatment of this subject see Frh. von Campenhausen, Die Askese im Urchristentum (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1949).

> masters and not Jesus Christ, areas in which we do not need to be justified and redeemed through Him.[1]

The Academy places itself squarely in the world and earnestly seeks to come into conversation with all areas of secular life.

> The Academy is open to every position and concern behind which are the real decisions of conscience. However, at the same time the Academy seeks to free the Christian Gospel from the bourgeois form and the moral petrification which now characterizes a great deal of Church life. The Evangelical Academy is convinced that a genuine encounter of Christ's message with the sober tasks and needs of today will lead to solutions. Therefore, it seeks to assemble men wherever possible to confront the world with the Christian message. In this the Academy performs a service both to the political concerns of our generation and to the Church.[2]

The unique contribution of the Academy to a Christian social ethic lies, therefore, not in the development of a new social-ethical system, but in the "penultimate" work of discovering what are the questions of our day to which the Church must speak. The Academy discussions have given clear evidence of the eager desire of modern men to ask and discuss deep and vital questions. Not only is there enthusiastic response to conferences dealing with technical questions, but there is an equal interest for retreats which concern themselves with the questions of the meaning of life. One of the most successful conferences for laborers at the Tutzing Academy was devoted solely to a discussion of Greek tragedies.[3] These discussions have great value for Christian social theory for the right questions must be asked if the right answers are to be found.[1] The Academy leaders do not disclaim the importance of social-ethical theory (they themselves follow theoretical principles), nor do they deny that the Church is able to provide answers. On the contrary, it is their firm conviction that the Church has an answer, that the Christian faith is very definitely relevant to the modern world, that drives them into the world. The Academy's task of discovering the true nature of the world, and thereby also the true nature of the Church, and of charting the Christian's responsibility in the world is of invaluable service to the Church. It is the necessary prerequisite for the Church's basic task of evangelism. "The first step is not evangelism but dialogue."[2]

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[1] Quoted by Hans Meyer, "Zehn Jahre Evangelische Akademien," Kirche in Der Zeit, X (October, 1955), 22.

[2] Doehring, *loc. cit.*, p. 41

[3] Conference at Tutzing Academy, February 27 to March 1, 1953, entitled "Schuld und Schicksal des Menschen."

The Academy seeks to bring the separate Church and world together in a dialogue of mutual questioning. It is a place where both the Church and the world become "questionable."[3] This is the nature of dialogue, and it is the real service of the Academy to a Christian social ethic. Although the message to which the Church bears witness remains the same, the situation to which she must proclaim her message is continually changing. Therefore, the crucial problem of Christian social ethics is, "What are the questions which must be asked of the Church and the world and to which the Christian faith must be addressed?" No theory or principle can provide the answer. It can come only through a continued dialogue between Church and world.[1] It is the establishment and maintenance of this conversation which is the important social-ethical contribution of the Evangelical Academy.

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[1] For an example of the Academy's success in uncovering the underlying questions, cf. infra, p. 136 f.

[2] Interview with Dr. von Nehrling, loc. cit.

[3] Cf. Doehring, "Die Evangelische Akademie als Frage der Kirche an die Welt," and Wischmann, "Die Evangelische Akademie als Frage der Welt an die Kirche," Loccum Rundbrief, XXIII (January, 1953), 8-15. See also Thielicke's assertion that Christ never gave direct answers to men's questions because they asked the wrong questions or did not realize the implications of their questions. Christ's answers were given in the form of questions which sought to place the person himself in question and thereby lead him into a discussion. Cf. Thielicke, Fragen des Christentums an die Moderne Welt (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1947), pp. 4-5.

To enable the Church to fulfill this new role as the "mediating center" in German society the Academy has discovered that certain methods are essential to this task. We shall now turn to a consideration of these methods and seek to bring into sharper focus the form which the Church has taken in this new work.

Between Cloister and Committee Room

One of the leading atomic physicists in Germany, Professor von Weizsaeker of Goettingen, remarked at the first conference of the Hermannsburg Academy in 1946, "If the Evangelical Academies are to have a formative influence on the future spiritual and cultural life of Germany, they must find their place between the cloister and the committee room."[2] The Evangelical Academies have attempted to fulfill this requirement. Their approach has been limited neither to meditation nor to discussion and debate. Both of these have been essential elements in the Academy's program. The Evangelical Academies have become centers which offer both an atmosphere of quiet reflection, worship, and Bible study as well as opportunities for free discussion, debate, and the factual consideration of concrete problems. They have sought to lead people to an encounter with God and with their fellow men. They have sought to deepen men's appreciation for the spiritual basis of life as well as to acquaint them with the concrete and technical problems of the modern world. The encounter in the Academy has been personal and factual, vertical and horizontal, reflective and discursive, directive and non-directive, well planned yet always a venture of faith. In the following sections we shall examine the various methods the Evangelical Academies have employed in finding middle ground "between cloister and committee room."

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[1] Cf. Hans Mueller-Schwefe, "Die Stunde des Gespraechs," Die Neue Furche, V (December, 1951), 760-68.

[2] Johannes Doehring, "Von Hermannsburg nach Loccum," Informationsblatt, II (December, 1953), 379.

The Neutrality of the Academy

The atmosphere of the Academy has been a decisive factor in its success. Since the Academy seeks to bring to its conferences persons who are either indifferent or hostile to the Church, the creation of the right atmosphere is of strategic importance. The name, "Evangelical Academy," has had the virtue of being free from the weight of historical tradition. In a culture so conscious of ideological fronts it has been necessary that this program be carried on under a neutral title which would not immediately prejudice the public. The Academy has been free to create its own reputation. It is frequently stated that what is unique about the Academy is its atmosphere. The visitor accepts this experience gratefully and without much reflection, but the conference leaders do a lot of hard thinking about this phenomenon. They have come to the conclusion that the atmosphere in the Academy is the result of methodological considerations and fruit of a charismatic gift.[1]

This combination of planned strategy and the charismatic "creative moment" is well illustrated in the Academy's constant effort to be a "neutral" place of encounter. The neutrality of the Academy does not imply, by any means, an indifference toward the Christian faith. It refers, rather, to the cleansing of the atmosphere of old suspicions and the creating of a new situation in which mutual trust can be established. In the Academy conference participants discover that the Church is actually interested in them as individuals and in their specific problems. In the Academy they discover the "listening Church."[2] They are not immediately attacked and made the objects of conversion. They are treated as fellow human beings with whom the important questions of life are shared. This approach has done much to overcome hostile attitudes toward the Church and between various groups and has disarmed participants of many of their false conceptions of Christianity.

> In a time when no one would even have dreamed of bringing German soldiers together in their own organizations or of

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[1] Hans Stroh, "Vom Leben zur Lehre," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 10.

[2] Hammelsbeck, op. cit., p. 18. Hammelsbeck asserts that the Church dare only proclaim her message to the world after she has learned to be the "listening Church."

> giving the soldiers' wishes public expression, the Evangelical Academies inaugurated a discussion on a level which made it possible for one not only to express his bitter feelings but also to consider soberly what was actually dangerous and in need of reform in the military. . . . By their willingness to handle the controversial issues in the bitter years after the war the Academies have done much to destroy resentments.[1]

The Academy refuses to pressure conference participants into any particular mold. Those parts of the daily schedule which involve worship and Bible study are not forced upon the guests, yet they are attended by nearly everyone. Speakers are selected who understand the approach of the Academy. Participants are encouraged to say what they think frankly without fear of being squelched by a heavy theological foot. Where men and women have felt accepted and sensed that others actually listened to them, they become ready to listen. In building a bridge between the Church and the world and between various political, economic, and occupational groups, the Academy has had to win equal footing on both sides. Neutrality is necessary in achieving this purpose. Therefore, the Academy has opposed supporting the formation of a Christian political party, trade union, or any other "front" which would set it in official opposition to many of the groups it seeks to reach. The effectiveness of this approach is illustrated in the following reactions of conference participants.

> Conferences of this kind have tremendous promise because of their unreserved frankness in the conversations, lectures, and discussions. This is what is absolutely necessary if a common way is to be found among different minds. Although agreement may not be possible, an appreciation of the other's position will prevent the inevitable political strife. Surely one of the foremost tasks of the Evangelical Academy is to

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[1] Robert Tillmanns, "Wo Weimar versagte, versagte Bonn nicht!" Bonner Hefte, IV (November, 1955), 28-29.

> provide a platform for just this kind of approach. It is possible for the Academies to do this because they endeavor to place all political disagreements, human error and confusion beyond the disputes of man and on a deeper common ground--namely, the Gospel of Christ.[1]

A teacher suffering bitterly from the suspicions and resentments which he faced because of his former Nazi connections wrote to one of the Academies:

> At your academy I once more found the right to have a home. At the academy I saw how others suffered from the same evil treatment as I, and yet they were upright men. But all the social, "poison gas" clouds were driven away by the message which the academy proclaimed. Here someone was willing to make sacrifices for our sake.[2]

A reporter writing in a Hamburg paper made this comment about the Academy's approach:

> It has already been demonstrated in the face of the most difficult problems that the soil of the Christian Weltanschauung continues even today to be capable of producing ideas which will shape the future. In the atmosphere of this academy something is producing results. The devout call it piety. The children of this world welcome it as emancipated humanity.[3]

Another reporter had this to say about a Tutzing conference on the theater:

> It is unnecessary to point out that participation is open to representatives of all confessions and religions. "Fear not, for you will not be preached at!" Yet this still remains missionary work. But what a new form it has taken! Just picture this in your minds: actors, actresses, critics, journalists, writers and all kinds of friends of the theater accepting an invitation to a conference on "The Mask." There were not simply lectures and discussions about current problems of the stage, but on the program there were also Bible studies. Besides that, every day was opened and closed with a little service in the Castle Chapel and every meal was

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[1] Hermannsburg Rundbrief, XII (April, 1950), 6.

[2] Letter from an unidentified teacher to the Hermannsburg Academy, December, 1947.

[3] Quoted in a letter to all Superintendents, August 22, 1948. (In the files of the Hermannsburg Academy.)

> begun with prayer. Only a few did not participate in this spiritual part of the conference. Mornings and evenings one would see Protestants, Catholics, Jews and dissenters, comedians and their critics, who had just been passionately discussing matters concerning the theater, sitting peaceably together with the Luther Bible and the hymn book. Was this just politeness toward the host? Perhaps, but that doesn't fully explain it. . . . Here many met for the first time a new type of pastor who did not confidently throw his ready made answers around. Here were no official dispensers of comfort and advice. On the contrary they made no secret of the fact that they too were seekers and unprepared and were faced with doubts and uncertainty.[1]

A Roman Catholic Journal made this observation concerning the Evangelical Academy:

> It is typical of many such movements that their weakness exists in the temptation to equate their feeling of spiritual certainty with possession of the truth. But ideologists of such a rigid Christian Weltanschauung have a difficult time finding a place in this circle. Here more than any other place one is likely to find men to whom Bishop Lilje's words apply: "The fruit of a life lived in true responsibility and ventured in faith is the treatment of others with sensitivity and creative vision."[2]

Encounter and Community

One of the most effective methods used by the Evangelical Academy is that of the personal encounter. By providing a center where people representing all areas of German life can meet informally and develop intimate friendships, the Evangelical Academy has made an important step forward in deepening the sense of community both within and without the Church. The importance of creating new Christian communities in Germany has been apparent to Academy leaders from the very beginning of their work.

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[1] Tutzing Tagebuch, I (1950), 15-18.

[2] Eduard Schroeder, "Evangelische Akademie," Frankfurter Heft, IV (February, 1949), 168.

> It appears that we in Germany are continually being carried away by one extreme or the other. We are torn between a romantic, industrious patriarchy on the one side and an impersonal, cold, calculating way of thinking in terms of fiscal statistics on the other side. . . . But we never seem to achieve a form of community which takes into account the industrial order with its complex of demands. There are of course some beginnings, but a survey of the total situation reveals that a satisfactory climate has not yet been created.[1]

The Academy conferences are designed to give ample opportunity for personal encounter. One of the most important rooms in the Academy is the lounge. Here small informal groups gather after each session to continue the discussion in more personal conversations or just to relax with new friends. In the Academy representatives of various political parties, social groups, and religious faiths have become acquainted in a way quite unknown in everyday life. Industrial leaders have been thrown together in intimate discussions with workers and labor union officials, Politicians have encountered their rivals. Government officials have spent hours in quiet discussions with the clergy. Most of the Academies are located in or near a park or forest preserve which provide excellent opportunities for early morning and afternoon *Spaziergaenge* (walks). This social institution has been an important element in German community life. (The *Wandervogel* [hike] was a vital part of the German Youth Movement.) The intimate conversations which have taken place on these occasions are often the richest part of the conference. A sense of community is also developed by the short excursions and evening music or literary programs which are in the schedules of most conferences.

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[1] Joerg Simpfendoerfer, "In der Sorge um den Arbeitenden Menschen," *Das Parlament* (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 15.

There are also other ways in which the "creative moment" of the personal encounter is methodically planned. In Loccum the pastoral conferences are deliberately held during the same two weeks as the Young Workers' Courses. Bad Boll has developed active cell groups in many factories. Nearly all the Academies have some kind of alumni program for maintaining the communities begun at the Academy. We have already seen how the Academy brings together various social and occupational groups in order to build personal bridges between them. At the close of one of the Academy "social-partner" conferences a labor union leader said, "I am not so much concerned with the facts we have discussed here, important as they might be. But what I really appreciate is the community of moral responsibility we have found here with representatives of the 'other side.'"[1] A leading industrialist who played a vital role in preventing a major strike shortly after attending an Academy conference had learned at the Academy that "a Christian always shares the responsibility for his opponent."[2]

Dialogue

The basic method of the Evangelical Academy is group discussion. The Academy seeks to create an atmosphere which encourages everyone to speak his mind openly. The Academy is a "forum" where one can say or ask anything. The Academy requires of all participants that they too allow the other to speak even when his view opposes their own. The academies have employed various methods for group discussion including round table discussions, debates, small groups, personal encounters, and working committees. However, the basic form of the discussion is the general group type which follows the lecture. There are usually two or three major addresses each day, followed by an hour or two of discussion. The discussion period begins with questions directed to the speaker. The Academy director or program chairman, as the case may be, acts as the moderator. His role is to inaugurate the discussion, note the order of the persons desiring to participate, maintain the continuity of the discussion, and make the closing summary. The speaker has the right to enter the discussion at any point. He usually waits, however, until several have spoken to a particular point before making his comments. In order to give the discussion periods a more personal flavor many Academies use the opening session to introduce the speakers and Academy staff and to allow each participant to introduce himself.

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[1] Quoted by Doehring in "Brueckenschlag zwischen den Sozialpartner," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 14.

[2] Quoted by Doehring in "Von Hermannsburg nach Loccum," op. cit., p. 382.

The discussion period is the most critical and difficult part of the program. In these free-moving sessions the success of the conference is often determined. One of the Bad Boll staff who has had considerable experience directing the discussion periods wrote:

> One can build machines and control them in operation. But good academy conferences are more like a growing tree than a machine. They do not follow a set pattern. Room must be given for the spontaneous, the unpredictable, discovery, and unexpected encounters between men and God. Each conference has its own history. It begins with surprises and a sense of strangeness and moves toward the initial stage of dialogue. It also involves some tedious stretches of routine statements. One is driven hard. The participant might feel that the conference leader makes too many

> assumptions and puts too much emphasis on his own experiences. Another person feels that the leader does not bring the discussion to any definite conclusion, but leaves the issue up in the air with many questions but few answers. Little revolts, annoyances, quarrels and heated controversies appear. Then suddenly unifying and helpful forces seem to awaken. An Evangelical Academy need not fear strife and criticism. The absence of these should cause more concern than their presence! Discussions which have no discord but are saturated with sweet amiability and polite caution leave a bad taste afterwards. Crises themselves often arouse the initiative of the passive. Through crises real community develops.[1]

In the Evangelical Academy the Church seeks to enter into conversation with the world. The Academy has discovered that such a conversation is possible if the Church is not too theological in her language and if she is willing to listen to others. One of the greatest obstacles that the Academy has had to overcome is the feeling of superiority on the part of the theologians. Their claim to absolute truth leaves little possibility for discussion. According to one Academy leader this is the direct result of the German system of theological education. He believes this system is deadening and poisoning as far as preparing pastors for conversing with the average person is concerned. "The best theologians are not 'theological,'" he claims.[2] One Academy invites several pastors to each of its conferences but requests that they remain silent.

The Academy exists between the Church and the world and has learned a great deal about both. It has become acutely aware of the failure of the Church to penetrate the substrata of the world with her message.

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[1] Stroh, loc. cit.

[2] Interview with Hans Stroh, Director of Studies, Evangelical Academy Bad Boll, June 2, 1954.

> In the academy we often hear criticism of the Church's cruelty. The criticism is not about the lack of works of charity. It has to do with the cruelty of the church's abstract sermons. It is not enough to go directly from the exegesis of a text to the sermon. One must not pass over too easily the real problems of ministering to human souls and of interpreting the full meaning of the Incarnation. This temptation to be abstract has been a danger of our Church for generations. The sermon need not separate life and faith. That this has happened, however, is seen in the way "secularism" has become deeply rooted in the congregation of Christ. Here we have much to learn from the Bible and from others about getting close to our fellow men. The Academy is attempting to do just this.[1]

Before the Church can learn how to speak to the world with understanding and relevance, she must learn to listen. The war had taught the Academy leaders that the Church does not have all the answers. She too is asking many questions. Genuine conversation can begin only when both parties realize that the search for the answers to man's problems is a task which must be shared with others. Before the Church can speak to the problems of modern man she must learn exactly what those problems are. Before the pulpit can speak, the pew must be heard. The Academy is concerned to discover as precisely as possible the basic questions confronting the modern technical world. Only by dealing concretely and factually with the specific problems in each area can the fundamental underlying questions be discovered. It is for this reason that the Academy requires of all its lecturers and discussion participants the temper of Nuechternheit (levelheaded objectivity) and the virtue of Sachlichkeit (an informed and precise handling of the facts).

The Evangelical Academy refuses to be exploited as a propaganda medium. The Academy leaders choose speakers not for their piety, but primarily for their expert knowledge. For this reason many come eagerly to the conferences. They know that issues will not be evaded at the Academy but squarely faced. The Evangelical Academy can do this as long as it has no "vested interest," as long as it remains neutral. The Academy represents no "front." All are treated equally. The Academy must even allow itself and the Church to be placed in question. This is the price of genuine dialogue. It is the Biblical way of thinking--a view which one Academy director claims has been lost in our Hellenistic Western culture.

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[1] Gerhard Hildmann in the Tutzing Tagebuch, II (1951), 6.

> But in the moment that we turn away from the content of Greek thought we discover that its method of thinking has an entirely new meaning for us. Once more we grasp, as Buber says, the dialogical character of all concrete thought. Plato and his master, Socrates, with their dialogical way of thinking become more important and meaningful for us. We must acquire once more the art of "maieutics" which has been lost through centuries of dogmatic scholasticism and systematism. We must learn the art of midwifery of the great philosophers who through dialogue brought the truth to life.[1]

The task of leading the discussions in such a way as to allow for freedom of expression, the concise and factual treatment of each question, and the raising of deeper questions of direct theological bearing has not been an easy one for the Academy. The success of each conference depends to a considerable degree on the ability of the Academy leaders to grasp the issues and to know just where to enter the discussion themselves.

> Most of the academy lectures are of a technical nature. Representatives of various fields enter the discussion to present their professional or personal concerns. These may represent medicine, law, education, art, government, agriculture, labor, business, the press, radio, the film industry, politics,

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[1] Erich Mueller-Gangloff, "Quatember und Evangelische Akademie," Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 127.

> commerce, or industry. Discussions usually have the task of clarifying, supplementing and deepening what was heard in the lecture. But here [in the academy] the discussion leader has a much more difficult and extensive responsibility. In the discussion he must bring about the confrontation of the concerns of the respective occupational groups and the Gospel. In practice this means that he must seek to lead the results of the lecture back to the fundamental questions. But he must do this in such a way that does not lose contact with present reality.[1]

The Evangelical Academies have become famous in Germany as Staette des Gespraechs (centers of discussion). The people who come there discovered that they could speak openly. They found the Church willing to listen. They also learned that their problems were shared by many others. The Academy experience helped them to see that deeper questions lay beneath the ones they asked. As one participant said, "Here I have learned to think."[2] Other comments reveal the effectiveness of the discussion approach of the Academy.

> Discussions often begin with a return to the "rule of the fist" which people are accustomed to in arguments about politics and economics. But fists are usually put down when the academy director guides the discussion to a level where these tactics no longer apply. The discussion is led into a broader and higher sphere. This frees many, relaxes tensions, and unearths once more the old and true orientations. This is apparently just what the people seek when they come to the conferences. Once they have become aware of the peculiar charm of deliberating this way in small groups far away from the "world", they return again and again. It makes no difference if they are government officials, leading men of labor, industrial magnates or scientists. . . . The Church is seeking here to do nothing more than to define and lay out the foundations upon which she can build a higher order.[3]

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[1] D. Schauer, "Die Arbeitsweise der evangelischen Akademien," Deutsches Pfarrerblatt (Essen), May 1, 1950, p. 263.

[2] Loccum Rundbrief, XXIV (April, 1953), 10.

[3] Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschafts Zeitung (Stuttgart), April 24, 1954.

The Academy's method of allowing the participants to discover the fundamental questions for themselves before the theologians enter the discussion was dramatically illustrated in a conference held at Loccum on the question of the new German Army. Representatives of the former Army General Staff, government officials, ex-soldiers, and future draftees were invited to discuss the theme, "Technology and the Spirit in Military Life."[1] The central issue of this conference was the type of training to be given the new officer corps then being formed in preparation for the drafting of the troops. Opinions on this subject were divided into two definite schools of thought and a long and heated debate developed. There were those who insisted that the strength of the German nation and especially of the officer corps had been and must continue to be Prussian authoritarianism. The other group argued for a more democratic system in the army and warned that Germany's great mistake had been her blind obedience to the Prussian system. This debate renewed old and bitter resentments. It also led to a thorough review of modern European history. It appeared as if the discussion would end in total disagreement. However, the Academy leader and the lecturers continued to return the discussion to the concrete issue at hand, viz. the specific program of training and discipline to be given the new officers. It was at this point that a dilemma arose in both camps. In the discussion everyone had agreed that discipline must be based on higher authority than man himself. But the supporters of the Prussian view faced a situation in which the old monarchy had been abolished and the German people had become highly suspicious of all centralized authority. The proponents of a democratic system were also at a loss to know where to center this higher authority in a democratic society. Yet both clearly saw the necessity for some absolute beyond man to which he could appeal for authority.

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[1] Notes from the conference, "Geist und Technik im Soldatischen Bereich," April 8-12, 1954, Evangelical Academy Loccum. (In the files of the Academy.)

At this point the Academy director entered the discussion. In the preparation of this conference the Academy staff had sought to anticipate just such a moment as this and had discussed and studied the theological implications of questions which might arise. Consequently, at this crucial point the director was prepared to give a highly effective talk on the failures of heteronomous and autonomous societies. He found little difficulty making his point clear to these men that responsibility and "civil courage" are possible only in a theonomous culture. From that point it was not difficult for him to relate the Gospel concretely to the problems these men faced. He urged in particular that the spiritual training of the officers be given careful consideration in the training program then being prepared. At the beginning of conference it would have been quite difficult for the Church to have won an audience with many of these important men. But at this point they listened, not simply because they were polite, but because they themselves had come to realize the problem was basically theological. Among these men were those who helped draft the Officers' Code and who later became important officers in the new army.[1]

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[1] Among these were Count von Baudissin, General Adolf Heusinger, Heinz Karst, and Max Schwerdtfeger of the Blank Commission for Army Questions.

Another example of the success of the Academy's methods of personal encounter, Sachlichkeit, and discussion is cited by a British reporter who attended an Academy conference for farmers and refugees. Between these two groups considerable bitterness and mistrust had developed because the farmers were forced to provide housing for many of the refugees.

> The opening address was delivered for the refugees by a man who, in his first two sentences, said that he did not want to speak to the farmers, he wanted to address his fellow refugees, and that the rest of his speech would be devoted to telling them how he felt they had failed to make the best of a difficult situation. When it came to the turn of the leading farmer to make his speech he tore up his prepared notes, which he said contained criticisms of the attitudes and behavior of refugees, and in his turn addressed the farmers. This created an atmosphere in which free and open discussion was possible and a new relationship was established.[1]

Another account of the effect of the discussion approach is given in a report of an Academy conference for laborers.

> There were many present who had nothing to do with the church. In fact they stood completely outside of the church. They were not acquainted with the Church's way of thinking and speaking. As a result people had great difficulty in understanding each other. There was a this-worldly and an other-worldly struggle throughout the conference. Workers who were active church members became uncertain about things in their religion they had taken for granted. Workers who were outside the church listened intently to the message of the Gospel. Many of these workers were disarmed by the way the church criticized herself and admitted her failures and guilt. The long discussion with the Bishop started many to think seriously. One of the non-Christian workers asked for a New Testament at the end of the conference and another said that his prayer for a new relationship between the church and labor had been answered.[2]

There have also been occasions when the Academy has failed to communicate to the conference guests. At a Loccum conference on prayer and the sacraments for people from industrial life, a pastor from a large industrial city gave an address on the nature of man. It was a highly technical lecture on Gogarten, Jaspers, Bultmann, and Biblical theology. After his presentation the pastor was quite shocked by the verbal protests from the audience. One of the first to comment said that he did not know where to begin asking questions for the whole talk had gone over his head. The next one to comment said the same. Another stated very frankly that a lecture which was read word for word from a prepared manuscript was too impersonal for him. Still another said that there was so much theological and philosophical language in the paper that he failed to grasp the speaker's concerns. A businessman remarked that such theological abstraction was of little help to him in the difficult decisions he had to make. The pastor had little to say in the discussion that followed. It is likely that it will be some time before he is asked to give another lecture at the Academy.[1]

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[1] Kathleen Bliss, Christian News Letter, No. 324 (November, 1948), pp. 4-5.

[2] Tutzinger Freundesbrief, III (June, 1948), 10.

Bible Study and Worship

An important part of the Academy program is the time set aside for worship, Bible study, and meditation. The morning and evening periods of devotion are simple and brief. Some Academies, such as Tutzing and Hofgeismar, have little chapels for these services, while at Loccum and elsewhere the people may gather informally in the entrance hall or lounge. The service usually consists of a hymn, scripture, and prayer. It may be more elaborate where chapel facilities are available. However, the simplicity of the worship is determined basically by the fact that many of the participants are quite unaccustomed to partaking in a devotional service much less a liturgical one. The daily devotional periods are usually held immediately preceding breakfast and immediately following the evening program. Participation in this part of the conference is completely voluntary. The Evangelical Academy seeks to make worship seem a natural part of each meeting. The grace which is said before each meal is in itself a significant psychological moment for some have not bowed their heads for a prayer in perhaps twenty or thirty years. The Sunday worship service is the first church service attended by some for an equally long time. Some conferences close with a service of Holy Communion.

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[1] Notes from the conference, "Meditation, Gebet, Sakrament," May 11-15, 1954, Evangelical Academy Loccum. (In the files of the author.)

The morning program is usually opened by a Bible study. Several techniques are employed, but certain ones deliberately avoided. This period is not meant to be a theological lecture, sermon, or technical exegesis. Its purpose is simply to introduce people to the Bible and to initiate discussions on basic Biblical ideas which are related to the conference theme. An Academy director has given this description of this hour of study.

> We try to present the Christian message simply and directly in terms of the problems of everyday life. We seek to free it of the forms that customarily surround it. Where this is done successfully, even this ancient message will not seem strange and forced. This message will then appear as the most necessary part of the discussion concerning modern life. It will then become that which points the way to the ultimate answers.[1]

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[1] Eberhard Mueller, "The Way to the Center: Our Task in Modern Society," A New Road in Germany, p. 30.

The Bible studies are conducted in the same open atmosphere as the discussions. Participants are encouraged to make any comment they wish without fear of being intimidated. Usually many questions are asked regarding the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, the end of the world, angels, the Trinity, and the like. The leader seeks to give clear and simple Biblical answers to these questions avoiding both theological obscurantism and confessional arguments.[1] One Academy director reported using the following method:

> On the first day I sought to explain what exegesis and meditation meant for me personally. The next morning all of us--people who had left the church, skeptics, seekers and pious Christians--sat together for an hour in silence studying the same text. Each had a paper and pencil and wrote down what the text said to him during this quiet hour. After a brief period of singing we divided into groups of ten to twelve. Then each said what had disturbed and touched him during the still period. Often the comments were in the form of questions. I believe that at the end of such a common exchange of ideas we all had to admit that none of us had realized how rich the text was. Ideas, insights and often very binding realizations, of a nature not usually found in the commentaries, come to light.[2]

More and more meditative types of conferences are being held in the Evangelical Academy as a result of requests by conference participants. Many who have attended several Academy conferences felt the need for the deepening of their Christian faith. If the first step of the Academy is considered the construction of a platform where the church and world can meet and engage in genuine dialogue, then the second step in the missionary work of the Academy might well be the meditative conferences. The Bible studies and worship services of the regular conferences serve as an introduction. They are the first direct contact many people have with the Christian message. But for those who return to the Academy for more help they require solid spiritual counsel and training. The director of the Hofgeismar Academy feels that the meditative aspect of Academy conferences should become more important.

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[1] Schauer, loc. cit.

[2] Doehring, Hermannsburg Rundbrief, IV (November 3, 1947), 2-3.

> It is not man's critical thought which renews his life. His life is truly renewed as he encounters God in the Word and Sacraments. Therefore, the most fruitful moments of all conferences occur when men's hearts are stirred up by God and they make new resolutions.[1]

One Academy leader has called the Evangelical Academy a "training center for laity."[2] He argues that if such a center is missing the laity have only their "Sunday Christianity" to sustain them. This is not enough to help them come to grips with the issues of the day. Without such centers of training there remain only two alternatives: either a return to an other-worldly pietism or retreat to the clerical authoritarianism of the official church which tries to safeguard "Christian interests." The Academy seeks to avoid both these pitfalls through the dual emphasis on the concrete and precise treatment of contemporary problems and on Bible Study and worship. Of this approach Bishop Lilje has said, "There are undreamed of and immense possibilities for the renewing of our congregations which become manifest in the academy."[3]

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[1] Mueller-Schwefe, Der Mensch in der Wirtschaft, III (July, 1953), 11.

[2] H. C. von Hase, "Ein Jahr Evangelische Akademie Muelheim," Kirche in der Zeit, IX (February, 1954), 24.

[3] Hanns Lilje, "Wege der Verkuendigung," Theologie und Liturgie, ed. Liemar Hennig (Kassel: Johannes Staude-Verlag, 1952), p. 352.

How Conferences Are Prepared

The preparation of Academy conferences is an important part of their success. Each meeting is planned separately and in quite different ways. Some grow naturally out of previous conferences. This is true of the transition from occupational to "problem" conferences. Others are deliberate attempts on the part of the Academy to deal with what they sense is a crucial issue. Still others come about quite accidentally through various encounters of the Academy staff throughout Germany. There is only one set requirement for a conference theme, viz. that it deal with a real and vital issue for the group invited. "The Evangelical Academy moves deliberately from life to doctrine and not from doctrine to life. The academy searches out modern man where he actually exists."[1] The Academy is not interested in forcing something upon the people who come to her, but in learning their questions.

The preparation of a conference usually begins with a meeting between Academy staff members and representatibes of the occupation or problem area to be discussed. The purpose of this meeting is to determine what are the critical issues. Gradually a central theme emerges around which the conference is planned. The Academy directors also consult with experts in the field of the conference theme to find the best qualified speakers. In these pre-conference meetings questions regarding participants, method of invitations, sharing of expenses, and publicity are discussed. Armed with this information the Academy staff begins the actual work of preparing the conference. Speakers must be secured and personal contacts made with various organizations and key people. Much of the Academy directors' time is spent on the field making these arrangements. The names of possible participants are secured through various groups such as local labor unions, trade organizations, and industrial firms. Programs of coming Academy meetings are mailed out to interested groups and individuals. From the response to these announcements and the files maintained by the Academy, names are selected and invitations sent out. In some cases the Academy delegates the task of inviting people to another agency, such as a labor union, which already has the facilities for reaching people who would be interested in the coming conference.

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[1] Stroh, loc. cit.

Perhaps the most effective channel of communication is the word-of-mouth advertising by former conference participants. Again and again the importance of having had key people at the Academies has been demonstrated when conferences are being prepared. It was largely because of successful conferences for industrial leaders that the Young Workers' Courses were able to be inaugurated. The Evangelical Academies have also made good use of the prestige of their Bishops in whose names invitations are often sent out.

During the period preceding the conference the Academy staff is busy studying the questions to be discussed. Old protocols are read to discover what questions had been raised in past conferences. Technical literature as well as theological works become the steady diet of the Academy staff. As far as possible the critical moments of the conference are anticipated and possible strategies discussed. But the leaders must be prepared for most anything to happen. Because of the vast amount of work involved in the preparation and leading of conferences the Academies usually have more than one conference leader. In some cases people from outside the Academy staff are brought in to prepare and direct a conference.

Some meetings are held at the request of groups outside the Academy who desire the assistance of the Academy in dealing with their specific problems. On one occasion the Bavarian Radio Station requested the Tutzing Academy to schedule a conference dealing with questions for which the officials of the Bavarian station had no time in their regular meetings. (Perhaps this request came as no surprise to the staff of the Tutzing Academy since their director, Pastor Hildmann, was a member of the advisory board of the station.) They came to this center because they felt the Academy offered the right atmosphere for facing the deeper problems of the broadcasting industry. The end result was a conference in November, 1951, under the theme, "The Metaphysics of Radio."[1]

Hauskreise and Extension Work

The program of the Evangelical Academy is by no means limited to conferences and special meetings. A great deal of work is done through the various agencies and groups developed by the Academies. These include the *Hauskreise* (local alumni groups), cells-in-industry, professional associations, local "Academy Day" conferences, and Academy publications. Early in the program of the Evangelical Academy the need for a broader basis of support was recognized. The group that appeared the most likely to provide this assistance was the Altfreundeschaft (The Alumni Association) of the Student Congregations. In March, 1948, the Academy leaders met with the council of the Altfreundeschaft to co-ordinate the efforts of the two groups. The latter had a structural organization that reached into all parts of Germany. This is just what the Academies needed for the local and national support of their work. The result of this meeting was the organization of the Evangelical Academy Society which included all members of the Altesfreundeschaft. Others were also encouraged to join. The Society planned a conference for Christian university graduates and other Christian intellectuals for the next year in Heidelberg. At this meeting a great many new members were recruited for the Society. The purpose of the Evangelical Academy Society was clearly outlined in the constitution drawn up in 1948.

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[1] *Tutzing Tagebuch*, I (1951), 56.

> The Society seeks discussion and fellowship with members of all professions who wish to think through together the basic questions regarding their occupation, public life, personal faith and the church. The Society desires to proclaim the Word of Jesus Christ, Lord of the world. It thereby acknowledges its responsibility for the work of the Evangelical Academy and the research programs which seek new ways of proclaiming the Gospel. In this way the Society seeks to nurture Christian fellowship and strengthen the congregation of Christ.[1]

The membership of the Evangelical Academy Society has been considerably enlarged through the recruiting of conference participants. Most of the Academies have organized former participants into small local groups. These are called Hauskreise and are comprised of people in the same community who have been to an Academy conference or are interested in this program. These groups are often organized through the initiative of the people themselves, but some Academies have full time staff members who do nothing but organize and direct these groups.

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[1] Report on the Constitutional Meeting of the Evangelical Academy Society, Bad Boll, March 16-18, 1948. (In the files of the Evangelical Academy Loccum.)

> The cultivation of such contacts does not simply involve bringing people together to talk their problems over. It means using such conversations to lead on to the integration of a community. People to whom a session of one of the academies has given their first contact with the church and counsel they have long sought, ask: "How can we go further?" What they look for is a community operating in their professional world, and the church has hardly begun to build up anything of the kind.
>
> So the academies are trying to show men the way from a community of their sessions to a community in daily life, and look for helpers throughout the country to co-operate in this task.[1]

As early as 1947 the Hermannsburg Academy, at the request of conference participants, established the Evangelical Academy Society of Lower Saxony. The first chairman of this association was Baron von Hodenberg, Chief Magistrate of the Court of Appeals in Celle.[2] Dr. Gerhard Heinz-Mohr was elected executive secretary of the Society and was made a member of the Hermannsburg Academy staff. A lecture and visitation service was established by the end of 1947. Former lecturers at the Academy were requested to speak to these local groups. Through the travelling secretary they were kept in close contact with the Academy. Each member of the Society received the Academy Rundbriefe (Newsletters). Mimeographed protocols of the conferences were sent upon request. An official constitution was adopted in September, 1948, containing the following statement of purpose: "The Society declares its responsibility for the tasks of the Evangelical Academy Hermannsburg. The Society establishes _Hauskreise_, arranges conferences, lectures, evening discussions and seeks new ways of proclaiming the Gospel."[1]

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[1] Eberhart Mueller, "Evangelical Academy," Christian News Letter (July, 1951), pp. 134-35.

[2] Doehring, History of Hermannsburg, p. 45.

[3] Hermannsburg Rundbrief, IV (November, 1947), 3.

By May, 1950, the Evangelical Academy Society of Lower Saxony had 1750 members and by 1955 it had a total of some one hundred _Hauskreise_. Each group has its own chairman and a council of three to five members. The groups average about twenty-five in number. The work of the Society and the expenses of the travelling secretary are financed by the members themselves. The members of some groups contribute the price of a movie ticket each time they meet. This financial independence has given these groups considerably more freedom than the congregations. This has caused a great deal of suspicion on the part of pastors who see the _Hauskreise_ as competition to their parish work.[2] There are, however, a number of instances in which the local pastors are very active in the _Hauskreise_. Occasionally the _Hauskreise_ organize their own local retreats. During the summers conducted tours have been arranged for members to such places as France, Italy, and Spain.

The _Hauskreis_ work of the Bad Boll Academy is under the direction of Heinrich Eberbach. In 1954 there were some seventy *Hauskreise* in Wuerttemberg. They usually meet once a month with an average attendance of fifteen. Some groups are organized along professional lines. There is one for doctors, one for women, one for young people, and several for workers. The program of some Hauskreise consists of Bible Study while others discuss Academy conferences, books, films, and topics of interest. Several have special projects such as aiding refugees, meeting regularly with the local pastor to discuss his sermons, and sponsoring public lectures.[1] Groups are usually kept to a maximum of fifteen so that the discussion can be maintained on a more personal level. Married people are encouraged to come together to the meetings. Special conferences at Bad Boll have been held for the chairmen of the *Hauskreise* in order to strengthen and extend the program. At the second such conference Mr. Eberbach made this statement concerning the purpose of the *Hauskreise*:

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[1] _Ibid._, VII (November, 1948), 11.

[2] Interview with Gerhard Heinz-Mohr, Executive Secretary of the Evangelical Academy Society or Lower Saxony, July 1, 1954.

> Christianity without congregations is unthinkable. If the *Hauskreise* do their work properly they should ultimately lead their members to the congregation. Practically this means that the individual should share in the tasks of his profession, congregation and politics out of a sense of Christian responsibility and love for his neighbor. This should mean, for example, positive criticism of church life, strengthening the Christian teaching in the schools, and influencing the movies selected for showing in his community. Groups in which people only listen to lectures which place no obligation upon them and which desire only a society which builds up their own ego are going the wrong direction. I can imagine that an academy *Hauskreis* which has to some degree attained its goal would dissolve itself. Its members would then be so involved in the work of the congregation, their profession, and public life that they would require no other gathering than the worship service.[2]

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[1] Interview with Heinrich Eberbach, Executive Secretary of the Department for Study Groups, Bad Boll, June 3, 1954.

[2] Heinrich Eberbach, "Offene Fragen unserer Hauskreise,"

The Hauskreise have demonstrated their responsibility to their local community and congregation in various ways. One group met with the owner of the local movie theater and discussed with him the quality of films he was showing. Another group was instrumental in boycotting a theater which refused to show good films. Still another group faced the problem of an unsatisfactory instructor of religion in the local school. It had seemed impossible to remove him from his teaching position until this Academy group signed a petition against him and he was forced to resign.[1] A Hauskreis in Witten (Ruhr) organized a series of public lectures on the Christian faith. The first one was given by President Martin Niemoeller.[2] The Tutzing Academy has organized "Political Clubs" which bring together young people and politicians for discussions.[3] The cells-in-industry work of Bad Boll and the cells formed by graduates of the Loccum Young Workers' Courses are also part of the Academy extension program.

The Hauskreise are the Evangelical Academy's bridge between the local parish and the people whose only contact with the Church is the Academy. Much work needs to be done both with conference participants and the pastors before the congregations will realize the fruits of the Academy work. Bad Boll, for example, tries to encourage parish pastors to attend the Academy conferences

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lecture presented at the Second Conference for Leaders of Academy Hauskreise, Bad Boll, May 9, 1953, p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

[1] Interview with Heinz-Mohr, loc. cit.

[2] Ruhr-Nachrichten (Dortmund), October 28, 1952.

[3] Manfred Rexin, "Begegnung zwischen Regierenden und Regierten," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 11.

by offering them reduced rates, but few come. Some pastors criticize the Academy because the people of their parish who have been to the Academy do not immediately appear in the pews. After some disappointing experiences with pastors who expected this kind of immediate results, at least one Academy refuses to send the pastors the names of people who have been in the Academy.[1] Some pastors view the Academy as a kind of "religious amusement park" where people like to go to have an experience, but never become genuine Christians. However, where the Hauskreise have found sympathetic support from the local pastors the results have been gratifying. Sometimes the participants themselves are responsible for interesting pastors in the work of the Academy. Pastor Wischmann recalls how two young workers who had already been at Loccum returned to a later conference accompanied by a third person. As they entered the Academy grounds they spied the director standing in the doorway. Placing their companion between them and grasping both of his arms they shouted across the yard, "Pastor Wischmann. Look! This time we brought our pastor with us!"[2]

The extension work of the Evangelical Academy is carried out in other ways in addition to the Hauskreise. One Academy leader has described the Hauskreise program as the "horizontal" approach. The Academy also has a "vertical" approach. "The vertical approach leads from a conference at Bad Boll through the professional organization to the members of one profession in the whole geographical area and ultimately into the individual congregation."[1]

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[1] Interview with Gerhard Hildmann, Tutzing, June 6, 1954.

[2] Adolf Wischmann in a lecture to the Divinity School, University of Chicago, February 22, 1956.

This "vertical" extension program is accomplished through such groups as the Protestant Action Committee for Workers' Questions, the Christian Press Academy, the Radio and Television Academy, and special publications. The purpose of the first organization mentioned is to unite the various church agencies and programs dealing with labor groups. This makes it possible for the Church to make her position clear in various questions and to strengthen the missionary effort in this particular area.[2] Although the Academy has as yet no parallel organization for management some "vertical" work has been done in this area as well. Mr. Harald von Rautenfeld of the Loccum staff, for example, specializes in work amongst industrial leaders in the Ruhr area where the Academy maintains an office. He also edits a special magazine for this group entitled Der Mensch in der Wirtschaft.

The Christian Press Academy was first organized by the Bad Boll Academy in March, 1950. The purpose of this program was to bring together students who were interested in journalism as a career. Through special conferences and courses the students were thoroughly acquainted with the tasks, responsibilities, and problems of this profession. During the month-long courses they listened and talked to editors, journalists, government officials, and theologians. The intention of the Christian Press Academy is to deepen the sense of vocation amongst these future members of the press and to better equip them to meet the great responsibilties of this profession.[1] This is not a program which seeks to place agents of the Church in strategic places to promote the propaganda line of the official Church. This work is carried out in close co-operation with the Student Congregations and the Evangelical Kirchentag. Several advanced courses have also been held for former participants.[2] The Evangelical Academies have maintained a close relationship with the German press not only through the many conferences attended by reporters, but also through such well-known weekly papers as Christ und Welt (Stuttgart) and the Sonntagsblatt (Hannover). They seek to do in published form what the Academy does in its meetings. The Sonntagsblatt (published by Bishop Lilje) has been called the "Academiy in Print" because it covers all areas of interest with the kind of concise and objective approach characteristic of the Evangelical Academy.[3]

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[1] Koller, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] "Aus der Aktionsgemeinschaft," Die Mitarbeit, III (July, 1954), 59.

The Evangelical Academy for Radio and Television was organized in December, 1954, by the "Conference for Commissions of the Protestant Provincial Churches for Broadcasting in the Federal Republic and Berlin" and the Leaders' Circle of the Evangelical Academy.[4] Five men were selected for the Board of Directors, including Pastor Werner Hess and Dr. Eberhard Mueller. Pastor

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[1] Eberhard Stammler, "Journalismus ist Kein suspekter Dschungel," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 8.

[2] Ulrich Schmidhaeuser, "Nachwuchs fuer die Presse," Die Neue Furche, VI (July, 1952), 489-92.

[3] Doehring, op. cit., p. 42.

[4] Evangelische Welt, IX (January 1, 1955), 15.

Adolf Sommerauer of Tutzing was chosen as study director of this new agency. The Evangelical Academy for Radio and Television has the task of studying basic questions in this area and of training young people for Protestant radio and television work. Conferences are held at various Academies to deal with crucial questions in this field. In the Autumn of 1955, for example, a conference was held at Loccum together with the Board of Directors of the Catholic Radio Work under the theme, "The Freedom of Radio."[1] As a result of this meeting a statement of common theses was issued regarding the Church's views on radio broadcasting.

Summary

In the Evangelical Academy the German Church has sought a form which makes possible the placing of the Church in a relevant role in modern life. The Academy has recognized the structural limitations of the traditional approach of the Church to socio-ethical problems. Her social theories remained irrelevant or impotent as long as the Church lacked any solid contact with and knowledge of modern social problems. What the Church needed first and foremost if she hoped to take a formative role in German society was a new structure or form. This the Academy provided in establishing a platform or middle ground between the Church and the world. The methods employed by the Academy have been vital to this role--her neutral atmosphere, personal encounter, democratic discussions, informed and objective presentation of the facts, new forms of Bible study and worship, thorough preparation of conferences and active extension programs.

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[1] _Kirche in der Zeit_, X (October, 1955), 231.

This new form of the Church as a center for retreats, discussions, and worship avoids both the endless debate of the parliamentary chamber and the cloistered withdrawal of the monastery. Yet it retains the advantages of both. In the Academy there is both discussion and quiet meditation, formal lectures and worship, expert technical analyses and Bible study. Participants are confronted both with an informed and concrete presentation of the problems of modern society and with the need for a deep Christian faith. In order to occupy the crucial "middle ground" the Church has taken on the shape of the Evangelical Academy. This bold step raises certain questions of the validity of such work in the light of the Protestant concept of the Church and her social-ethical responsibility. The next two chapters will deal with these questions.

CHAPTER V

A NEW CONTEXT FOR LUTHER'S ETHIC

The emergence of the Evangelical Academy in Germany raises the question of the relation of this movement to Lutheranism which has largely shaped Protestantism in Germany. The question we shall seek to answer in this chapter is whether the Evangelical Academy represents a radically new departure from the past, or whether it is a fresh break through of the Reformation understanding of the relation of the Church and the world.

Much of the Academy's criticism of the Church has been directed against traditional German Lutheranism. However, the Academy leaders are well aware of their indebtedness to Luther. It was the renaissance of Reformation theology which gave great impetus to those movements, and theological discussions prepared the way for the Evangelical Academy. The social ethic of Luther has had great influence in German life, both ecclesiastical and civil. Nowhere has Luther been so thoroughly understood and so tragically misunderstood as in Germany. The social ethic of Luther, in fact, has been charged with creating certain conditions in the German Church and state which led to the catastrophe of National Socialism. Some theologians have questioned Luther's social-ethical teachings because of the extreme positions to which it has led. Fierce debates have been waged in the past over the body of Luther's writings. Many have questioned whether Luther's ethic has much relevance today because of the vastly different character of the modern social order.[1] The great social changes which have occurred since Luther's time must be taken into account if the fundamental thrust of Luther's social-ethic is to be understood.

> Luther did not know nor could he even imagine a visible distinction between the Church and the World. In his day the two were not separate. . . . Between us and Luther lies the "secularization" of Europe, the separation of Church and State and the crises of the National Church.[2]

Neither the household, which in Luther's time included both family life and occupation, nor the court chaplain (Hofprediger) with his influence in the affairs of civil life exist today. Without these conditions which gave Luther's ethical writings their special character, his position cannot be fully understood. Even if we were to demonstrate that Luther did make a faithful and effective witness to the Gospel in the social-ethical matters of his day, this would not of itself commend his social ethic to our day.

We have noted in the previous chapter how the separation of the Church and the world is the basic social-ethical problem facing the Church in the modern world. This was not true in the sixteenth century when it was very difficult at times to distinguish between civil and ecclesiastical authority.[3] Luther's polemic was directed against the Papacy and its mixing of the affairs of the Church and the world. Luther sought to make a clear distinction between them. Today, however, the problem the Church confronts involves the consequences resulting from the separation of these two realms. For this reason some theologians argue that Luther's two kingdom theory is particularly unfit for the problems of this age.[1]

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[1] Cf. Dilschneider, op. cit., pp. 15-30.

[2] Helmut Golwitzer, Die Christliche Gemeinde in der Politischen Welt (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), p. 26. Cf. also Gogarten's argument of the change "secularism" has made between Luther's time and today. Gogarten, Verhaengnis und Hoffnung der Neuzeit, pp. 104-05.

[3] von Hase, loc. cit.

If, however, the gulf between the Church and the world could be bridged as the Academy claims to do, then we find a contemporary parallel to Luther's time which gives us a fresh opportunity to study his position and its relevance for today. In the Academy some of the circumstances out of which Luther formulated his social ethic reappear. The Evangelical Academy provides, for example, the place (Hof) where the Church and the world once again are in conversation. In the Academy the preaching of the Word reaches the ears and minds of those who are in positions of civil responsibility (the Obrigkeit of the modern world) as was true in the time of the Reformation. It might be argued that in the Academy princes of the various provinces of the secular world have found their "court chaplains" in the Evangelical Academy. In the Academy the Church also speaks clearly and concretely to the social questions of today in the way that Luther addressed himself to his own day. He was in close contact with the social conditions of his world.[1] He argued that the theologian must concern himself with secular questions. "There has never been a saint," claimed Luther, "who has not occupied himself with political and economic matters."[2]

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[1] Cf. for example Karl Barth's criticism of Luther's two-kingdom theory and its alleged consequences in Hermann Diem, Karl Barth's Kritik am Deutschen Luthertum (Zuerich: Ev. Verlag Zollikon, 1947), p. 10.

Today in the Evangelical Academy the Church is once again encountering the world in a way which enables her to speak definitively on specific issues. The Academy's endeavor to bring the Church into relation with the workshop, for example, provides a situation which Luther knew in his society when workshop, family, and Church were a part of one social whole.[3] It was in this setting that Luther spoke of man's responsibility to God. A contemporary parallel is found in the Academy's attempt to bring these realms into contact and to indicate where the responsibilities lie. Thus the Evangelical Academy provides a remarkable test case in the modern world for the fundamental intentions of Luther's social ethic.

If we examine the social ethic of Luther and Lutheranism we find certain fundamental concepts prevailing throughout all discussions of concrete problems. Let us investigate three of these concepts as we find them in Luther. We take up in turn the basic theological-ethical concepts of the two kingdoms, the orders of creation and preservation and the relationship of faith and love. We will also attempt to demonstrate how these concepts are found in the thinking and program of the Evangelical Academy.

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[1] Cf. Gustav Wingren, Luther's Lehre vom Beruf (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1952), p. 107.

[2] Luther, W. A. 40, III, 207, cited by Ernst Wolf, "Der Christ in der Gesellschaft," Junge Kirche (January 15, 1953).

[3] Luther distinguished between the orders of economics, Church, and family. He did not, however, separate them. Cf. for example Luther, Vom Abendmahl Christi, W. A. 26, 504, 30 ff. Emil Brunner in his Divine Imperative offers a contemporary version of this same distinction of the realms of human existence which are different but integrally related. The problem today is to overcome the autonomous claims of these realms and to realize their relatedness. Cf. Brunner, The Divine Imperative, trans. Olive Wyon (London: Lutterworth Press, 1953), pp. 293 ff.

The Two Kingdoms

We cannot enter here into the far-reaching ramifications of Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms which has been so thoroughly investigated in modern Luther research.[1] It is clear that Luther's concept of the two kingdoms is based firmly upon his understanding of God gained from his exegetical studies and his own spiritual experiences.[2] Scripture was for Luther God's witness to Himself.[3] Scripture confronts man with the God of wrath and mercy. God's rule over the fallen world is through both the law and Gospel. These two distinct ways in which God exercises His sovereignty Luther describes as the worldly kingdom of God and the spiritual kingdom of God, or the kingdom on the left hand and the kingdom on the right hand.

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[1] Cf. for example Franz Lau, *Aeusserliche Ordnung und Weltlich Ding in Luther's Theologie* (Goettingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1933); Wingren, *op. cit.*; Walter Kuenneth, *Politik zwischen Daemon und Gott* (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1954); Harald Diem, *Luther's Lehre von dem zwei Reichen* (Kaiser Verlag, Munich, 1938); Gunnar Hillerdal, *Gehorsam gegen Gott und Menschen* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1955).

[2] Hillerdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-20. Cf. also Hermann Diem, *Luther's Predigt in den zwei Reichen*, Vol. VI *Theologische Existenz Heute* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1947).

[3] Martin Luther, "Die drei Symbola oder Bekenntnis des Glaubens Christi," *W. A.* 50, 282.

> God rules with His "left hand" through a worldly kingdom in order that, despite its sin, He might maintain some external form and tolerable order to preserve it for final fulfillment. God rules with His "right hand" through His spiritual kingdom in order positively to prepare from within a way for that which remains. As the worldly kingdom is the expression of God's purpose of conservation and preservation, so the spiritual kingdom is the expression of God's purpose of redemption and fulfillment. This thoroughly dual way which Luther saw God managing His creation corresponds, in the final analysis, to the dual character of the last age of the world. In this period between the completed work of redemption and incomplete fulfillment, i.e. between the resurrection of Christ and His second coming, the old and new worlds overlap. Only in this "eschatological" concept of the Gospel is it possible to understand correctly Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms of God and his social-ethical principles which are rooted in this doctrine.[1]

Luther's polemic against the papacy on the one hand and against the enthusiasts on the other led him to distinguish sharply between the two ways in which God rules. However, he did not argue for their separation. God's wrath does in fact serve His love.[2] In the worldly kingdom God's activity is masked.[3] Nevertheless, it is still God who rules.[4] There is no dualism in Luther's thought in regard to the subject (God the creator), the object (the kingdoms), nor the prominence of each kingdom. The difference exists rather in the intention, purpose, and goal of God.[5] God's final purpose is the redemption of man. Through the worldly kingdom He spares the world by restraining it from self-destruction. Meanwhile He performs the work of redemption through His spiritual kingdom. In the one sin is held in check outwardly by law and coercion, while in the other sin is radically overcome through grace. In the worldly kingdom God rules over all men indiscriminately, but in the spiritual kingdom His rule is effective only through the free decision of the individual. The former deals with physical and temporal goods while the latter deals with salvation and the eternal Good. If these two kingdoms are confused, i.e. if duty within each is not clearly and obediently done with regard to the peculiar purpose of that kingdom, then they destroy each other. Chaos and disintegration result in the worldly kingdom when the law is replaced by the Gospel (e.g. Muentzer). Faith and true spirituality are destroyed when legalism replaces the Gospel in the spiritual kingdom (e.g. the papacy). "Luther sought to keep faith from becoming dependent on worldly things in order that the certainty of salvation might not be founded on a false basis, and in order that one might be more independent and truly free from selfishness, obedient, and sober in the world according to the purpose of God."[1]

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[1] Ernst Kinder, "Das Evangelium und die Ordnungen des menschlichen Gemeinschaftslebens," _Von der Obrigkeit_, V: Martin Luther, _Ausgewaehlet Werke_, ed. Georg Merz (6 vols.; Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1952), 373-74.

[2] Lau, _op. cit._, p. 147.

[3] Wingren, _op. cit._, p. 95.

[4] Lau, _op. cit._, p. 60.

[5] Kinder, _loc. cit._, p. 374.

If we now ask whether this basic Lutheran concept is rejected or re-affirmed by the Evangelical Academy we first note immediately a contrast with Luther's situation. Luther's problem was to make a clear distinction between the Church and the world in the face of the interference by the Church in secular matters which threatened to destroy the Gospel. However, the Evangelical

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 377.

Academy has been confronted with almost the opposite situation: namely, the complete separation of the two realms. The Academy's concern is to bring them into a new relationship. The basic position of the Academy stands in opposition to those who have interpreted the two kingdom theory to sanction this separation. The Academy has sought to correct the tendency of some Lutheran social-ethical theories to make the world completely autonomous and to silence the Church in social and political matters. Whereas Luther's polemic stressed the difference, the Academy's emphasizes the necessary relationship between the two.

The recent history of the Church in a "secular" culture has clearly demonstrated the fatal consequences of separating the two kingdoms. On the other hand, the utopian thinking prompted by a premature identification between the two can lead, as in the case of the "German Christians," to theequally fatal consequence of losing their distinction. The Academy is fully aware that it must take the middle road. "The Academy has succeeded in finding a form of encounter which allows the Church to be the Church and the world to be the world while keeping them related."[1]

But, while the Academy has been careful to maintain this distinction, its main thrust has been to emphasize the responsible relationship that must exist between Church and world. The Academy might be described as a modern missionary movement which seeks to awaken the Church to her responsibility to "go out into all the world." But today it is not the foreign lands, but the "secularized" world and all its territories into which the Church is being called through the Academy.[1]

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[1] Dombois, loc. cit., p. 109.

> The Church has a direct responsibility not only to the individual Christian but also to public life. She suffers severely from the fact that she lives in a bourgeoise epoch in which she has become bound to certain class interests. She is frightened by the materialistic appearance of the new social movement which has ignored the call for justice--a call which ought to have been the Church's true concern. However, if the Church remains true to the message she has been given, she will not accommodate herself to any of the forces of this age. . . . The Church, which is entrusted with deciding between that which is above and that which is beneath, must employ the truth placed in her hands to serve the man of today in his counsel-less and uncertain situation. The task of the Church in modern society is not to establish her own sovereignty but to give clear and helpful service to the orders of the world.[2]

The Academy has succeeded in some measure in bringing the Church out of her quietism and in renewing her sense of responsibility to the world. This has even been acknowledged in some Roman Catholic journals:

> For the past decades the Protestant Church has limited herself to apologetics in regard to the world. She has felt that her prophetic task was fulfilled by being a preaching Church. But today she is far beyond this wherever the true Reformation spirit is at work. No longer does the Protestant Church enter the world just to defend herself. A new ecumenical consciousness has deepened her sense of public responsibility. She now denies that there can be any indigenous area in the world for which the Church is not responsible. In the work of Bad Boll and Hermannsburg there is no longer any doubt that the Christian is God's co-worker commissioned for service in the world.[3]

Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms has been criticized as leading to a completely secularized world and an isolated, socially impotent Church.[1] We have noted that although Luther did indeed sharply distinguish between the two kingdoms, a survey of his writings--letters, sermons, and tracts--clearly indicates that in practice he did not separate the two.[2] Historically, however, Lutheranism in Germany has allowed such a separation to take place. In this light the Evangelical Academy can be seen as providing a highly necessary corrective in re-calling the Church to her social responsibility. In doing this the Academy is in fact re-affirming a basic concept of Luther's social ethic.

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[1] Gerhard Hildmann, "Evangelische Akademie als Aufgabe," Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 67.

[2] Guenther, loc. cit.

[3] Heinz Fluegel, "Evangelische Akademie," Hochland, I (August, 1947), 1-2. Cf. also Eduard Schroeder, loc. cit., pp. 167-68.

The Orders of Creation and Preservation

In the worldly kingdom, according to Luther, God preserves the world from destruction through his orders of preservation. These are recognized even by the heathen as "natural laws," but they are not autonomous and automatic. They are, rather, God's conscious regulation of His corrupted and threatened creation. These orders are classified by Luther as political, economic (including the family), and ecclesiastical. The first two belong to the worldly kingdom and have an imperative character. They confront men as God's demands by which he forces them outward to their neighbor. This pressure causes some form of human community to be preserved. This is love's imperative, its law, which is to be realized in the hard and solid instances of the social order.[3] Luther's concept of love thus finds expression beyond that of the individual's direct relation to his neighbor.[1] Although this law is known by men only in a disfigured and twisted form, nevertheless it is in some measure recognizable in its demand as such and in its importance for existence. Luther recognized that the heathen were aware of this law of God and in many cases fulfilled it better than Christians. According to Luther man's reason was an adequate guide in such matters. He claimed that reason possesses cognitionem legalem (knowledge of the law). It is the "fountain out of which all laws flow."[2] Man's reason, even though corrupted and ignorant of God, when soberly used is the norm of the natural orders.[3] But reason is never autonomous; it is always subject to God who works through human reason and changes laws.[4] Man is constantly--even in the social orders--in the presence of God.

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[1] Wendland, op. cit., p. 28.

[2] Kinder, loc. cit., pp. 371-72.

[3] Lau, op. cit., p. 116.

God carries out His worldly government over men through men. He gives them executive responsibility and power. These positions of God-instituted responsibility Luther calls "offices" (Aemte) and "stations" (Staende). Wherever man finds himself, regardless of social status or occupation, there God gives him responsibilities for maintaining His orders. This is man's vocation of calling (Beruf). It is the concrete form in which God's command comes to that individual.[5] It can become a powerful weapon for good or evil. It is continually threatened from above and from below. One may egotistically oppose God's purpose by using his position for his own purpose. On the other hand, one may refuse to recognize God's authority over his office and may refuse to obey the powers God has placed over him. Whenever the orders and the offices within them are no longer actively or passively employed in obedience to God, they no longer work for the welfare of men. Rather, they destroy and corrupt. Attempts to make the orders and offices autonomous or to bring them under the service of heteronomously created values make them demonic. Nevertheless, God never allows the bridle of His worldly government to slip completely out of His hand. Though the world seems continually to be hovering on the brink of disaster, God retains some kind of order.

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[1] Wolf, "Politia Christi," op. cit., p. 47.

[2] Luther, W. A., 46, 668.

[3] Wingren, op. cit., p. 132.

[4] Hillerdal, op. cit., pp. 82-86.

[5] Wingren, op. cit., p. 30.

Luther never ceased to marvel at this miracle of the world's continued existence. Despite men's continual violation and abrogation of God's will, God still keeps the world from utter chaos. On occasion God raises up special "miracle men" to preserve order. Luther saw God actively and creatively at work in the worldly kingdom. The leading motive of Luther's social ethics is not fear of anarchy or doubt, but faith in God's ultimate purpose. His social ethic is not reactionary but positive. In Jesus Christ Luther found the assurance that as long as the Creator-God's work of redemption was in force, God's work of preservation would continue.

The concept of Orders of Creation, with its attendant concepts of stations, offices, and callings, has clearly been a factor in the life and work of the Academy. The first conferences of the Evangelical Academy were for specific occupational groups. Although problem-type conferences predominate Academy schedules today, nevertheless, the basic recognition of the specific tasks and problems of the various professions of our modern society remains central to the Academy's program. This approach was a natural one in the German society where the concept of the office and of the orders of family, economics, and politics are still deeply ingrained in national life. However, the situation of the modern world differs considerably from Luther's time when he sought to free the secular offices from the control of the Church. The Academy faces the problem of a disintegrating society in which the various orders are becoming isolated from one another and in which some unifying force is needed. It was the Academy's task to emphasize the role the Church can play in their integration.

> Today we can no longer separate our life as politicians and Christians or as a scientist and Christian to the extent that our fathers or grandfathers perhaps found it possible to do. The lay person must seek to obey the requirements of his specialty whatever it might be. That means that perhaps until the end of his life he will have to bear this tension which our generation appears unable to resolve. He must bring the deep questions of his profession before God and his brethren in the Church. He must take the answers and insights he gains there back with him and establish a bridge-head for the Church against the forces of the world. This is a visible part of the spiritual war between Jesus Christ and the powers of the world.[1]

One of the initial tasks of the Academy was to regain contact with the highly specialized and isolated occupational groups. Whereas Luther as a parish pastor in Wittenberg was able to keep in close contact with the relatively few occupational groups of his day and to speak with some authority about their problems, the Church in the modern world finds herself in quite a different situation. "The Church is clearly convinced that she must accurately inform herself in the questions of the secular orders if she is to escape the criticism that she passes judgment on circumstances about which she is not informed.[1] For this reason the Evangelical Academy has insisted that the conference lectures and discussions deal concretely and factually with the issues at hand. The Academy does not simply provide non-directive counselling to those who come to its conferences, but seeks to make the advice of the Church distinct, informed, and to the point. In the Academy the Church, to use Luther's words, seeks to formulate a "new decalogue" for our day.

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[1] Howe, *op. cit.*

Luther's doctrine of the orders of preservation asserts that God is actively at work in them. Therefore, it is required of the Christian to deal with the concrete historical tasks of the social order with the most conscientious factuality possible. This the Academy seeks to do.

> Dietrich Bonhoeffer in his letters from prison has spoken vigorously about the decisive meaning of the "penultimate" for the "ultimate." This is exactly what we also mean. The greater factual objectivity, the deeper "secularization", the stronger this-worldliness, and the completely down-to-earth nature of our life and words are all signs of the presence of Jesus Christ. Where such objectivity, secularism, concreteness and this-worldliness (i.e. the simple and plain facts of human existence) are sought, there Christian and non-Christian are able to come together today in a completely new way. . . . The genuineness of factual thinking and acting in our epoch so confused with all its ideologies has already proved itself to be--I'll venture to say--a preliminary work of grace. . . . This is no mere cunning psychological method or sensational attempt by the academy to be up-to-date no

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[1] Guenther, loc. cit.

> matter what the cost. Nor does it constitute an unconditional surrender to the problems and tasks of this world when the academy calls men to a Church institution for objective discussions concerning the present problems which trouble them in a mass society which is enslaved to forces of coercion and power in politics, business, press and radio. Such an effort is simply the other side of similar attempts to make the language of the sermon contemporary, to revive a genuine ministry to men's souls, to renew the meaning of confession, and to formulate a dogmatic and ethic which the laity can understand. These efforts cannot be understood without the other. They involve a common theological problem, namely helping men to gain a true sense of the presence of God [*praesentia dei*].[1]

After the disastrous results of National Socialism with its passionate appeal to "Blood and Soil," the Academy has sought to bring calm judgment into its discussions. This is what Bundestag President Heuss, speaking at the tenth anniversary of the Academy, described as the "healthy return to sobriety (*Nuechternheit*)."[2] Like Luther, the Academy has recognized the positive use of man's reason in matters of the secular kingdom. The Academy too is willing to be instructed by the heathen, if need be. Lecturers are brought to the Academy on the basis of their expert knowledge and not simply because of their piety. The Academy is concerned to learn the concrete problems and not merely to air the propaganda line of various groups. Behind this attempt is the conviction, now fortified by years of experience, that such a sober and factual approach drives the discussion to basic theological issues. An East Zone Academy director remarked, "In nearly every area we have experienced how scientific knowledge has reached its limits and now the question of God appears."[1] At this level the Academy can speak of the praesentia dei in the secular orders without sounding obscurant. It is considerably more difficult to demonstrate the relevance of faith in the technical professions of the modern world and in its complex social structure than it was in Luther's day. However, the Academy is convinced that it can be done. Its leaders are not afraid to face honestly the actual problems of the modern world for they too are persuaded that God is actively at work preserving the orders of His creation even in our day.

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[1] Doehring, "Von Hermannsburg nach Loccum," *op. cit*., pp. 381-82.

[2] "Der deutsche Weg--Rueckfall und Fortschritt," *Das Parlament* (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 9.

The Academy has another reason for dealing realistically with all areas of modern life. By discovering the concrete tasks and questions to be faced, the Academy seeks to show men their specific responsibilities. Every Academy conference is basically an attempt to discover the issues and tasks confronting the particular group or groups at the conference. This can be illustrated in conference after conference. An Academy retreat for actors disclosed to them that one of their basic problems was that of "role playing." This, they discovered, led to certain spiritual problems in their profession.[2] Another conference held for writers dealt with the double responsibility of this profession to recognize the cold facts of life and yet maintain high aspirations.[3] A series of conferences was held by the Hesse Academy for teachers, parents, and pastors to discover what might be done to face the critical post-war problem of the Germans' attitude toward the Jews.[1] A conference for secretaries uncovered the fundamental problems of the relationship of single women and men (especially to the employer), loneliness, sex, and the desire for children.[2] Another conference on the family faced the hard realities of the tremendous number of fatherless families after the war, the increasing divorce rate, and the problems of war orphans.[3] The Academies have devoted many of their programs to such national questions as remilitarization and co-determination.[4] In both of these particular questions the Academy has sought to get at the facts and to bring together the various groups responsibly involved in deciding these matters.

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[1] Dr. Kreyssig quoted in Der Neue Weg (Halle), May 6, 1952.

[2] Tutzing Tagebuch, II, 18.

[3] "An die Dichter in Deutschland," Invitation from Bishop Wurm to a conference in Bad Boll, May, 1948. (In the files of the Academy.)

Thus, in helping men discover the basic and concrete responsibilities of their occupations, the Academy is applying Luther's concept of "calling" (Beruf) to modern life. But today the task is more difficult. It requires great skill and understanding on the part of the Church to indicate clearly what are our "God-given" tasks in modern industrial society. These tasks are too technical and complex for the clergy or any single profession to give expert advice. Through informed lectures and objective discussions and through the encounter of various groups facing the same problem the Academy seeks to determine where these specific responsibilities lie. Before the Church's goal of a "responsible society" can be achieved, men must know what their responsibilities are. Furthermore, there can be no responsible men unless they themselves become responsible, that is, gain a sense of vocation in their profession by recognizing their tasks as ordinances of God. Therefore, the Academy's program goes beyond merely assisting the world to understand its tasks better. It seeks primarily to make responsible men by leading them to an encounter with God in the context of their professional and personal lives. "Only there where men open themselves to a genuine encounter with God does an actual discovery of reality take place."[1]

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[1] Cf. Hans Kallenbach (ed.), Die Juden und Wir Christen (Frankfurt: Otto Lembeck Verlag, 1950).

[2] Tutzing Tagebuch, III, p. 158.

[3] Ibid., p. 174.

[4] Cf. for example "Mitbestimmung oder Klassenkampf?" Die Mitarbeit, III (July, 1954), 40-42. See also Eberhard Mueller, Recht und Gerechtigkeit in der Mitbestimmung (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstatt, 1950).

Faith Active in Love

Through the Gospel, asserts Luther, men are freed from the demonic, that is from self-glorification (autonomy) and enslavement to secular goals (heteronomy), and freed for service. In the spiritual kingdom man is justified before God by his faith alone. He is freed from a false dependence on meritorious works and becomes by his free will a slave to God's will.[2] Thus liberated from things beneath (nach unten) he becomes a slave to the things above (nach oben).[3] In Christ man is set free to serve his neighbor, for now his good works do not earn his justification, but are wholly dedicated to serving his neighbor's need. Thus the experience of justification by faith alone does not separate the two kingdoms; it drives them together.[1] The Christian is not removed from the world because he is a member of the spiritual kingdom, but for that very reason he enters the world to serve his neighbor. Love now is not the law which forces him to preserve at least the minimum of order, but it is the fruit of his faith. It is no longer imperative, but indicative. It is no longer a requirement fur survival, but an opportunity gratefully to serve God and neighbor. The justified believer no longer fears the world. It is no longer the realm in which he must merit salvation. To him the world has become "profane." Only the person who acknowledges Christ as Lord of all (pantokrator) can deal with the world as secular.[2] Therefore, the Christian enters the world boldly with the confidence that he is God's co-worker in preserving creation.

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[1] Mueller-Schwefe, "Die Evangelische Akademie in der Tradition abendlaendischen Denkens," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 8. Cf. also Brunner's concept of "responsible existence," The Divine Imperative, pp. 295-96.

[2] Wingren, op. cit., pp. 38, 41, 77.

Luther's doctrine of justification by faith prevents the separation of the two kingdoms and yet maintains their difference by asserting that the Christian is both a saint and sinner at the same moment (simul iustus et peccator). The Christian is subject to the worldly authorities not only in order to serve his neighbor, but also because he remains a sinner who needs to be restrained and subjected to the law. The Christian lives in the tension of this "simul." He is a citizen of two worlds (Weltperson und Christperson). There are two kinds of righteousness which correspond to his existence in each kingdom: the righteousness of faith (iustitia actualis) and civil righteousness (iustitia civilis). Civil righteousness is nothing else than Christ's righteousness directed toward the worldly kingdom. There is an organic relation between the two which reflects the dual aspect of justification (faith in Christ) and sanctification (cooperatio hominis cum deo).[1] Civil righteousness is thus not to be separated from faith. The separation of the two leads to autonomous "good works" on the one hand, and a kind of faith on the other hand, which is nothing more than a matter of one's disposition.

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[1] Hillerdal, op. cit., p. 24.

[2] Wendland, op. cit., p. 51. Cf. also Friedrich Gogarten, Der Mensch zwischen Gott und Welt (Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1952), p. 118.

The Christian, according to Luther, is not merely pushed by the Gospel into the worldly kingdom of orders and human reason, but he is also counselled by the Gospel concerning his role in the world. Luther argues that faith is based upon the proclaimed word (verbum externum) and not simply upon man's conscience.[2] The human conscience only dimly knows God's will, but through the Word the Holy Spirit heals the conscience.[3] Basically the Church has no other power than the creative power of the Word of God. Her responsibility is to proclaim it to the hearts and consciences of Christians and non-Christians alike so that they will take seriously their responsibilities in the world. The Church is not to promulgate programs. Luther did not wish to appear as a reformer or law giver. His only desire was to be faithful to the Church's office as the conscience of the world declaring to those with responsibility what it means that all orders of human society belong to God. He sought to speak clearly and earnestly about the duties of men in the secular orders. He sought to be a true partner to the responsible men of his day. Even in his social and political writings Luther desired to be nothing else than a witness to God's Word (ecclesiasticus). Luther's prime concern was to keep the Gospel both from becoming subject to secular authority and from being made into a legalistic program. At the same time he sought to bring the Gospel into concrete and active service to the world. "According to Luther the Gospel gives us primarily four ways which follow directly from the spiritual kingdom and which are imperative and fruitful for the ordering of worldly affairs: namely, the proclamation of the Gospel, personal Christian life, prayer, and the life of the Christian congregation."[1]

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[1] Wolf, loc. cit., p. 63.

[2] Harald Diem, op. cit., pp. 154-55.

[3] Ibid., pp. 42-50.

Through the preaching of the Gospel Luther sought to sharpen the consciences of those who bore authority and to bring all men to the realization that their duty in the orders of the worldly kingdom is service to God. This kingdom God preserves and keeps from anarchy and chaos. To participate in political and social-ethical affairs on the basis of this certainty constitutes a truly fruitful political and social-ethical service. The Christian also serves the worldly kingdom in his personal life through his "bound conscience." According to Luther a Christian is best qualified to serve either actively or passively in the orders, for he is freed from self-glorification, independent of false hopes and fears, de—demonized, bound to God in personal responsibility, and released for selfless, sacrificial service. Luther does not counsel the Christian out of the world, but calls him into the world reminding him that it is God's will to preserve and to redeem His creation. This is the "civil courage" which sustains the Christian in his service in the worldly kingdom.[1]

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[1] Kinder, loc. cit., p. 379.

In the Evangelical Academy we find that this basic concept of Luther is also re-affirmed. According to Mueller-Schwefe, the Academy has three basic tasks.[2] The first is to drive the questions with which it deals to their basic underlying issues. The second task is to get rid of all the false and easy answers and to face honestly the concrete responsibilities. The third is to show how the final and total answer is found in Christ. This final task is that of creating responsible men in a uniquely Christian sense--the man who corresponds to Luther's description of the justified Christian. Through its emphasis on Bible study, worship, and meditation, the Academy recognizes that one becomes responsible only through an encounter with God. Men become truly "responseable" only when they are aware of God's presence. It is in the presence of God that all men become "question-able." Before Christ all false ideologies disappear.

> This confrontation with Christ concerns not only man's reason but his whole self. The whole atmosphere of the academy must confront the guest in this all-inclusive way. In other words, the academy's silence must be louder than its oratory. This

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[1] Bonhoeffer relates the term, "civil courage," to the concept of the calling and applies it to the idea of free responsibility. Cf. Bonhoeffer, Prisoner for God, pp. 16-17.

[2] Mueller-Schwefe, Der Mensch in der Wirtschaft, III (July, 1953), 10.

> characteristic of the academy produces perhaps its most decisive results. Only as long as the academy is able to live from this source of quiet and composure, will it be able to do its difficult work without spiritual and intellectual deception. For this reason the academy must have a spiritual order . . . . regular worship services, prayer, and quiet moments of meditation.[1]

Just how much the Academy's approach parallels Luther's emphasis on the importance of justification to ethical action is illustrated in a letter from a teacher who had attended an Academy conference.

> This was not just a nice and quiet holiday for personal reflection and thought. But there [in the academy] one was very impressively confronted by the Word of God. For a while one was stopped in his tracks. One was faced with a Herculean choice. The two alternatives were clearly pointed out. There was no compromise here. A definite "yes" or "no" had to be given. It was clear that all indifference and tepidity were obstacles to God and had to be brought to account before Him. There is no doubt that the most profound and basic meaning of our life is envolved in making clear decisions which way we shall go for all eternity.[2]

In the modern world where men are made "home-less" by the drive toward specialization and the high rate of mobility, the Evangelical Academy seeks to provide a place of belonging and integration.[3] The Academy deals not only with the technical questions of a man's occupation, but basically with the fundamental question of his "vocation."

> The task of the Church is to speak to the technician as a person who must make decisions in his occupation. This decision

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[1] Hildmann, "Evangelische Akademie also Aufgabe," op. cit., p. 69.

[2] Letter from an unidentified teacher to the Evangelical Academy Tutzing quoted in Tutzinger Freundesbrief, III (June, 1948), 9.

[3] Cf. Hans Mueller-Schwefe, "Meditations Tagungen," Hofgeismar Rundbrief, X (August, 1953), 21.

involves not just his professional field but is also of a very personal nature.[1]

The Academy does not limit itself to a situational ethic, but realizes that a dispositional ethic is equally important. Luther's dictum that "good works do not make a good man, but a good man does good works"[2] might be paraphrased in typical Academy language: "There can be no industrial peace until there are men of peace; there can be no responsibility in government, industry and labor until there are men of responsibility; there can be no social-partners, that is men cannot have faith in each other, until men have faith in God." By dealing with the personal questions of faith and ethics within the context of factual and objective conference discussions, the Academy not only avoids a separation of office and person, but also lays clear emphasis on the integral relationships between the righteousness of faith and civil righteousness. The Academy's work of integration is twofold: the reconciliation of men to God and men to each other.[3] Responsibility before God means social responsibility and vice versa. The Academy's efforts to develop social partnership between the warring social groups is a direct consequence of its effort to witness to the Christian message of reconciliation.[4]

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[1] Thielicke, Kirche und Oeffentlichkeit, p. 87.

[2] Philip Watson, Let God Be God (London: Epworth Press, 1947), p. 48.

[3] Cf. Wendland's description of the Church as the place of social reconciliation. Wendland, op. cit., p. 30.

[4] Cf. Otto Both's view of the Academy as a bridge between hostile social groups in "Das Anliegen der Akademie," Weser-Kurier (Bremen), April 23, 1953, p. 9.

In the sixteenth century, Luther had far less difficulty than present-day theologians in indicating to men the ways they could realize their faith through serving the needs of their neighbor. Nevertheless, the Academy seeks to help men make the necessary steps from faith to works. This it does in two ways. First, through its factual and informed discussions conference participants come to see concretely where their God-given responsibilities lie. Secondly, key persons and groups are brought to the Academy and many of these have regained a vital Christian faith and have become witnesses to the Christian message in the shop, classroom, office, laboratory, and other areas of society. The Bad Boll Academy might be described as seeking this invasion on a large scale by attempting to bring to its conferences large numbers of participants each year. Tutzing, on the other hand, deliberately avoids this mass approach and concentrates on converting key persons among the intellectuals. Through their writings and ideas Tutzing hopes to influence the generations following.[1] But the basic concern of all the Academies is to penetrate into modern society through those who are won to a sense of Christian responsibility at the Academy.

> It is essential to strengthen the relationship of the individual to society, on the basis of the fundamental truths of the Christian faith, and to introduce more than ever ethical demands into public life and social order. In this particular connection it is necessary to show that the Church as a whole, and its members, are meant to penetrate all areas of society with the impulse of love for one's neighbor; in the co-existence and human action that love be transformed into justice.[2]

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[1] Interview with Gerhard Hildmann, director of the Tutzing Academy, June 6, 1954.

[2] Heilfurth, op. cit., p. 19.

It is not enough, however, simply to push the Christian into the social order. He must be sustained in his faith and continually have the counsel of the Gospel and the supporting fellowship of other Christians. Therefore, the Academy's task is not completed until through the Academy men are led into the community of the Church--into the worshipping and witnessing Christian congregation. We shall discuss this aspect of the Academy's work in the following chapter.

We began this chapter with the question of whether the Evangelical Academy represents a denial or reaction against Luther's social ethic or a fresh break through of the Reformer's ethical thought. The Academy does not represent a revolutionary change in the Lutheran ethic itself, but does provide a fresh opportunity for its application in the new contacts established by the Academy between the Church and the world. The Academy has rejected certain interpretations of Luther that exist within Lutheranism. The contemporary relevance of Luther's position has been obscured by the theories and social forms which had developed in the German Church. In the Academy the genius of Luther's ethic has been brought once more to light. In the sixteenth century Luther felt compelled to call for a reformation of the Church. The Evangelical Academy represents the challenge to reshape the Church in the modern world. As such it is undoubtedly one of the most significant developments in Protestantism since the Reformation.

CHAPTER VI

FROM ACADEMY TO CONGREGATION

The Evangelical Academy represents an attempt to reshape the social structure of the Church to meet the new conditions of the modern world. We have seen some of the characteristics of this new form of the Church in providing a middle ground on which the Church encounters the world. The Academy has developed a program which has made this confrontation fruitful both for the Church and society. A genuine dialogue has resulted. An initial contact has been established. This has been the first step accomplished by the Academy in the first decade of its existence. The second step involves the relation of the Academy to the Church herself. Is the Academy merely a side show or at best a vestibule to the Church? What is the relation of the Academy to the local parish? Is the Academy itself a Church? What does the Academy mean for the reshaping of the congregation? In the second decade, it is this kind of question dealing with the next step beyond the level of conversation which the Academy must answer.

> The method of the Evangelical Academies is being watched with great care and not a little questioning by Christians in Germany who are most keenly aware how vital it is both for the Church and for Germany that the Church should discover how to speak to a post-war generation in terms it can understand and in a way which will evoke trust. The kind of questions which thoughtful Christians are asking are: Can this method succeed? Is it trying to reach too many people? Does it possess the leaders it needs, and, if not, ought it not to seek

> first to build up a small body of men and women knowledgable in and committed to the work before it tries to draw in the thousands? How lasting is the effect on the casual attendant?[1]

Parochial or Extra-parochial Communities?

In his survey of the new forms of Christian communities which have arisen in Europe in the last decades Ralph Morton makes the following observation:

> The missionary task of the Church--its ability to extend the Gospel into new areas of life--has in the past depended on the creation within the Church of new forms of social living. The only instruments of evangelism are men and it is only as men have found the means of living together a creative social life that the Faith has spread. . . . You must have a Christian community before you can have a missionary. And wherever that missionary's work takes root you find growing up around him a new community. The Faith does not exist without this social expression.[2]

The critical issue facing the Evangelical Academy is the question whether it will contribute to the creation of Christian communities which will sustain vital Christian faith and life or whether it will, like many reform movements of the past, separate itself from the Church and eventually lose its Christian vitality. The new forms developed in the Academy must be applied to the local congregations if socially responsible Christian communities are to be developed. This is the new frontier facing the Academy and it calls for the same daring that characterized its early pioneer work. The danger involved is that the Academies may themselves develop into permanent "retreat" centers and not lead conference participants into the life of the local congregations. If there is to be a renewal of the Church, there must be a renewal of the local parish.

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[1] Bliss, loc. cit., p. 6.

[2] Ralph T. Morton, The Household of Faith (Glasgow: Iona Community, 1951), p. 81.

> The question of the authority of the social-ethical message of the Bible will be determined in our day by the degree . . . . to which the Christian congregation is aware of and takes seriously her responsibility to the world. . . . It is in and through the congregation that according to God's will this authority becomes effective. This is true because the Christian congregation alone is the living body of Christ. She alone receives life from Christ as his body.[1]

> The Church must reconstitute herself anew as congregation. This is the critical issue of our day. The Church as congregation must be assembled and developed toward a community of life through service to God which includes social and external matters and which is detached from and so defines and recognizes the borders of the social milieu in which she exists that she can share in the social tasks of her members.[2]

There are those who argue that the congregations are so bound to traditional social forms that they are unable to adapt themselves to a changing society.[3] The local parishes are not free to make the radical decisions that must be made to make a clear proclamation of the Gospel to our generation. The Academy, it is argued, provides a new form for the Church which is fitted in a special way for the confrontation between the Church and the world. The Academy is the Church. It does already serve as a congregation to many who have rediscovered the Church there. All the elements of a Christian congregation--Bible study, prayer, preaching, fellowship--are to be found in the Academy.

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[1] Ernst Wolf, "Libertas Christiana," Gerechtigkeit und Freiheit, Theologische Existenz Heute: Neue Folge, XVIII (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1949), 35 f.

[2] Gollwitzer, loc. cit., pp. 26-27.

[3] The need for a new form of community in the face of the collectivitism of modern society was clearly recognized by the religious socialist earlier in Germany. Cf. Tillich, The Religious Situation, Part II. An important and interesting attempt was made after World War II in Germany to develop new residential and work communities centered around the life of the local parish. These new settlements were called Baugemeinde (building communities) and followed the general pattern of co-operatives. Consisting largely of refugee groups these new centers sprang up throughout Germany under the leadership of the Hilfswerk of the Hesse Church and later under the Board of the Confessing Church. Cf. Adolf Freundenberg, "Baugemeinden," Evangelisches Soziallexikon, pp. 128-29.

> Here there has arisen a world of thought and feeling, a certain climate of piety which is determining to a large extent the thought, speech and feeling of the leading men in Germany today. In other words we have a type of modern Christianity which takes its life and its form from the Evangelical Academies, not--and it is very important to see and to state this--from the local congregation and the Sunday sermon. This type of Christianity maintains a critical attitude toward institutional Christianity; this it does partly out of the feeling of necessity, but partly also with a certain pride. But in any case it wishes to be taken seriously as Christian faith and not merely as a type of general religiosity. It may be that this community really has a special part to play in the affairs of our time.[1]

The Academy, like the congregation, also seeks to be "*ein Haus Christi in der Welt*" (a house of Christ in the world).[2] In support of this position it has been argued that historically the Church has allowed several forms of congregation to exist simultaneously without competition as, for example, the orders of the medieval Church.[3] Furthermore, the social conditions of our day demand that the Church must employ other means of reaching man beyond the confines of his residential community. This the typical local congregation is not equipped to do. Therefore, an extra-parochial form of Church work is necessary. If the Church is to serve the needs of modern man, she must recognize the social fact that he lives in not one but in several separate and quite different communities. The Church must speak to contemporary man in the context of both his residential and his work communities.[1] In urging local pastors to grasp this fact and to support the work of the Academy Bishop Haug of Wuerttemberg argued:

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[1] Bolewski, *loc. cit.*, p. 344.

[2] Interview with Hildmann, June 6, 1954.

[3] Doehring, "Von Hermannsburg nach Loccum," *op. cit.*, p. 380.

> When we speak to men we observe that we have precisely the Biblical situation--men are involved in a social system. They must be dealt with in relation to the system. This is more Biblical than our practice of individualistic Seelsorge [care of souls]. We are not bound to the sixteenth century. Extra-parochial work is necessary. This kind of work will not be easy nor will it be done quickly. We will need special gifts to lay these new tracks. We have not understood the parable of the self-growing seed. Lest we become shortsighted let us recognize that the Academy and the Kirchentag belong to you pastors. Let us pull together on one rope so that competing in pulling the same direction the result will be more immediate progress.[2]

There are some Academy leaders, on the other hand, who are more sensitive to the charge by the local clergy that the Academy is seeking simply to compete against the congregation. They are aware of the danger of developing a kind of "Academy Christian" who is critical of the local parish and feels no responsibility to it. This group emphasizes the role of the Academy as a Vorform (forerunner) or vestibule to the congregation. They see the ultimate goal of Academy conferences as leading the participants through the cell-in-industry groups and the Hauskreise into the local congregation. While recognizing the present inability of the congregations and the clergy to adapt themselves to the modern world or to receive Academy "graduates" into their fellowship, nevertheless, these Academy leaders realize that the congregation has survived many forms of society as the main vehicle of the Christian faith. But it must, they argue, find a vital role in this age. A new form of the Church must be found, but one within the present parochial structure. The Academy is not a Church in terms of a local congregation, but merely the beginning of a new form of the Church to be realized ultimately in the local parish. In the Academy the Church is searching for and experimenting with new forms. The Academy should not be seen as the completed answer for the local congregation, but rather as a specialized form of Church work pioneering new patterns for the future Church.

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[1] Simpfendoerfer, loc. cit., p. 15.

[2] Martin Haug, "Berufsnoete des Pfarrers," Report on the Conference for Pastors, January 11-15, 1954, Evangelical Academy Bad Boll, p. 9. (Mimeographed.)

These two concepts of the Academy as the new form of the Church lead us to the basic question of the Evangelical Academy: Is this the form of the future Church? One Academy leader has asserted that "the form of Academy work--its location and task--is an eminent [*sic!*] theological problem."[1] The second step of the Academy must answer the question of its relationship to the local congregation. The two alternatives appear to be the renewal of the present congregations or the development of radically new forms. A simple return to traditional forms of the congregation has its limitations. But there are also dangers, as Bonhoeffer has noted, in the development of new groups parallel to the congregations. In speaking of such new forms he wrote:

> If they increase at the expense of the local congregation it is not a step forward, but the evidence of the lack of spiritual vitality in the congregation and a retreat from the seriousness of the historical situation. The growth of both should go hand in hand. The organized Church should not cut

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[1] Hildmann, "Evangelische Akademie als Aufgabe," *op. cit.*, p. 68.

> off the life blood of such movements toward community but rather should promote them.[1]

The answer to this question depends on the concern of the Academy leaders to work patiently toward the reshaping of the local parishes and the willingness of the pastors and members of the congregation to adapt new forms. At the center of this issue lies the concept of the Church and the question of the ability of German Protestantism so influenced by the Lutheran concept of the Church to alter its structure. Is the Academy a threat to the Lutheran concept of the Church and is the hostility of the clergy justified? Does the Lutheran concept of the Church block extra-parochial forms? Or does the Academy represent the recovery of Luther's concept of the Church? These questions lead us to a consideration of Luther's doctrine of the Church.

Luther's Reformation of the Church

Luther did not hesitate to challenge the existing structure of the Church in his time.

> It might have appeared for a time that Luther's concept of reformation meant the destruction or abrogation of the Church. Three acts seemed to indicate this. The first was the shattering of ecclesiastical authority and ultimately the authority of the pope and the general councils. This struck at the existing form of the Church. . . . The Bull threatening to excommunicate him Luther threw into the fire. This was the second act. In that moment he denied both the existing form and the whole legally established structure of the Church. He thereby not only struck deeply into the existing social order but also removed the very source from which ideas of reforming the Church had flowed for over a thousand years. This source was the belief that behind or above the Church

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[1] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Sanctorum Communio, Theologische Buecherei, III (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1954), 174. On the dangers of extra-parochial groups and free associations cf. Wendland, Die Kirche in der Modernen Gesellschaft, pp. 195, 208 f.

> there hovers an objective, ideal order which can be realized at least in part in the concrete overall structure of the Church's organization. . . . The third act was Luther's proclamation of the "Priesthood of all believers". This radically did away with organizational structure without which the Church as a supra-individual unity could not exist.[1]

For Luther the Church was not primarily an institution or hierarchy but the believing fellowship of the redeemed.[2] This fellowship is created through the preaching of the Word.

> The Church is under the Word and mandates of God and not above it.[3]

> The Church is not founded on the pious nor on the predestined, but the Word begets the Church. . . . Everything depends on the Word.[4]

The Church's right to proclaim God's will to the world is based on her willingness to be faithful in deed as well as in word. The Church belongs to the Kingdom of God but her existence is in the world. The concrete life she presents to the secular world bears testimony to the restored and final community of God. Luther felt that the reforming of the world must begin with the reformation of the Church.[5] For this reason he justified the use of secular authority to effect certain ecclesiastical reforms. Although Luther was forced to use princes as emergency bishops (Not episkopaten), his primary aim was to develop a Church of informed and responsible laity. For Luther the word communio had the thrust of "participation."[1] However, Luther never lived to see the achievement of the strong lay Church he envisioned. The form of the Church which has traditionally been associated with German Lutheranism has been a contradiction of Luther's understanding of the Church. Luther's use of secular authorities as "emergency bishops" led to the development of a highly authoritarian and bureaucratic structure. The Lutheran Church outside of Germany, however, has been free of this historical tradition and has not been limited to this rigid form. Even after the official separation of Church and State in Germany, the Church continued to be an hierarchical structure with the authority resting with the professional theologians and Church bureaucrats. The lack of democracy in the German Church reflected the failure to realize Luther's emphasis on the "priesthood of all believers." The Lutheran Church in Germany became a "pastor's Church."

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[1] Werner Elert, Morphologie des Luthertums, I (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931), pp. 224-25.

[2] Kinder, loc. cit., p. 380.

[3] Luther, W. A., 12, 194.

[4] Luther, W. A., 30, II, 682, cited by Erich Seeberg, Luther's Theologie in Ihren Grundzeugen (2d ed.; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1950), p. 175. The same point is emphasized by Bonhoeffer, op. cit., p. 207. "The communion of saints, the type of the Christian community of love, is rooted in nothing but the Word of God. It is present in every historical form in which the Word is preached as Isaiah 55:11 promises."

[5] Cf. Luther, "Ein Ratschlag, wie in der christlischen Gemeinde eine bestaendige Ordnung solle vorgenommen werden," Martin Luther, Ausgewaehlte Werke, V, 163-67.

Luther himself, however, was a powerful advocate of lay Christianity. He opposed all attempts to reform society through the Church hierarchy. He saw the dedicated and enlightened Christian as the channel of God's creative power in the world.[2] The individual believer armed with the Word of God, conscience, and common sense was a more reliable and effective witness to the Gospel than all the popes and Church councils.[1] Luther did not, however, advocate simply an individualistic ethic. He was fully aware that the Christian exists only in the fellowship of the congregation.[2] It is in the Church that man receives the Word and is empowered to fulfill his calling in the world.

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[1] Lennart Pinomaa, "The Theology of Luther," Lectures presented at Luther Theological Seminary, 1955, Lecture XI, p. 6. (Mimeographed.)

[2] Cf. Luther, Concerning Christian Liberty, Vol. XXXVI The Harvard Classics, trans. R. S. Grignon (New York: Collier and Son Company, 1910), pp. 373-77. See also George Forrell, Faith Active in Love (New York: American Press, 1954), pp. 87 ff.

The form which Church government took in Germany as the result of certain historical exigencies fell far short of the reformer's aspirations. The average Lutheran parish became highly institutionalized with the clergy wielding an authoritative position over the laity. One of the prime concerns of the Evangelical Academy is to develop vital lay Christianity. The approach of the Academy has been thoroughly democratic and highly critical of the existing rigid pattern of authority in the Church. Conference participants have found in the Academy the experience of the "priesthood of all believers" which Lutheran apologists have claimed to be the genius of the Lutheran Church, yet which has been so markedly absent in the German Church. In the Academy this concept of Luther is being recovered.

From Academy to Congregation

The Evangelical Academy seeks to establish a conversation out of which renewed Christian communities will arise. The emphasis on worship and Bible study attests to the fact that the Academies see this emerging dialogue as going beyond discussion and leading to an encounter with God. The Academy seeks in a unique way thus to bring the Gospel into contact with modern life. It seeks to proclaim the Gospel. This "preaching of the Word" forms the basis for the divine-human encounter in the Academy which creates the renewed community of faith. Thus, like Luther the Academy sees the possibility of the renewal of the Church through the proclamation of the Gospel--albeit in a new form of proclamation. This new form is the dialogue. The sermon is not limited to the pulpit but is set in the midst of technical discussions, in the very heart of contemporary social problems.

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[1] Cf. Luther's defense of his position in regard to the Hussites at the Leipzig Debate; cited in Roland Bainton, Here I Stand (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury, 1950), p. 117.

[2] Wolf, *loc. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

> From the beginning the deepest social associations have existed in the Word. . . . The Word is not only social in its origin but also in its goal.[1]

Beyond this initial concern to create opportunities for such dialogue, the Academy seeks to lead its participants to the second step of actual participation in the life of a local congregation. For many this means a long and difficult step. But at the Academy a beginning is made.

> In the Academy there are not just lectures, but a common life. One does not simply theologize but he experiences the new atmosphere in the fellowship of the group. There is not just talk about prayer, but one folds his hands for the first time perhaps in many years. One does not simply ponder the spiritual needs of modern man in relation to the Sacrament and try to convince himself of its importance, but he is given the opportunity to attend a communion service.[2]

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[1] Bonhoeffer, op. cit., p. 108.

[2] Wischmann, "Evangelisation und Beruf," op. cit., pp. 242-43.

The participants' experience of Christian community in the Academy must be continued and deepened by bringing them into the local parishes. The Academy leaders are convinced that his is the next logical step, but they are not agreed as to how this might be accomplished. The average German parish is not prepared to deal with these newly won "converts." The inability of the local congregation to provide a vital Christian community in the modern world has caused some to question radically the present structure of the congregation.[1]

> The question arises as to the relationship between the Church and such centers of Christian community within other forms of life and organizations brought about by the decisive changes in the area of human relations. The doubt rises as to whether the parochial system is adequate for a society whose symbols are marked by an enormously intensified social and local mobility, if we are in earnest when talking of a "Church" whenever two or three people gather in the name of Christ. The established and locally limited system can, in a time of local separation of large parts of industrial areas from the residential ones, be only one pole of the Church's true span. The other pole must first be defined and then put into realization.[2]

The Evangelical Academy has by no means rejected the importance of the local congregation in sustaining Christian faith and witness. On the contrary, in a disintegrating society the Academy has become acutely aware of the need for the fellowship of believers, but in a form which meets the needs of modern men. In thus seeking to reshape the Church to fit the character of contemporary society, the Academy is following Luther's example of reforming the Church and not just copying the form he found adequate for his day.

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[1] Cf. Eberhard Mueller, Die Welt ist Anders Geworden, pp. 20-27.

[2] Heilfurth, op. cit., p. 11.

> Such things as the boundaries of the parochie, questions concerning education, examination, voting, financial support, discipline of the clergy . . . must all be ordered and met today in a different way than in Luther's time. Tomorrow perhaps they will be dealt with differently than today. Here is Christian freedom which is the reverse side of Luther's concept of the Church.[1]

The Academy does not deny the place of the local parish. However, until the congregations have been re-vitalized and reshaped to make significant contact with modern society, forms of extra-parochial work are necessary. At the same time, however, the Academy seeks to build the bridge toward the congregation through its Hauskreisen, conferences, cell-in-industry groups, and continued efforts to make the clergy and Church officials aware of this problem. The Academy does not intend to by-pass or weaken the local congregation, but rather to strengthen it gradually by leading men and women through these intermediate forms into a full-fledged membership in the local congregation. The Academy leaders are well aware (in view of the tremendous response to their work) that those who come to them "want to be a Church . . . for they realize the need for help in their responsibilities in the world."[2]

In its emphasis on a responsible and informed laity the Evangelical Academy is rediscovering and applying Luther's doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers." This doctrine has been all but forgotten in the German Church. The Academy is essentially a place of lay education. Their basic purpose is to help deepen and articulate the Christian sense of responsibility of the persons who come to the conferences and thus to bring fresh life and blood into the German Church. The Academy has in fact been called a "training center for priestly men."[1] The Academy does not seek to make a sharp distinction between clerus maior and clerus minor, between charismatic and non-charismatic offices in the Church. It realizes that the men on the frontiers of the Church's social-ethical battles are not the clergy but the laity who must make the difficult decisions affecting social life.[2]

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[1] Elert, op. cit., p. 335.

[2] Doehring, "Christen ohne Gemeinde," Kirche und Mann, VII (June, 1954), 4.

> Protestantism with its highly personal decision of faith has always felt uncertain in the area of social and political ethics. The Catholic Church has her faith in natural law and in papal encyclicals to give her definite answers. However, this is impossible in Protestantism. Therefore, it is even of greater importance for us Protestant laymen to maintain a close relation between religious inwardness and the practical life. Thereby resources of faith transcending decisions if the intellect are disclosedupon which one can act in every occupation. I am not of the opinion that it is the proper concern of the theological profession to take a definite stand on every practical issue and even to presume to interfere in matters belonging to the government. One should leave these questions to the laity who are trained in these professions and have many years of experience. But at the same time I am convinced that contact between politicians and the representatives of the Church, for example, can substantially facilitate many decisions concerning professional questions and matters of experience. Such a relationship would also lead to a greater sense of responsibility on the part of all.[3]

The transition from Academy to congregation is also being accomplished with some success through the extension work of the Academy in those areas where local clergy are co-operative. A very promising step in this direction is being taken by the Bad Boll Academy in arranging Academy conferences in the local parishes. In this way the Academy is seeking to be a bridge between the Church and the world in specific localities. In this new program the conferences are first organized by full-time Academy staff, but gradually the local pastors in that area are encouraged to take over the program. This attempt to develop a new form of parish work which is in constant contact with the professional and industrial world shows great promise for the future.

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[1] Kurt Plachte, "Bildungstaette des priesterlichen Menschen: Die Aufgabe der Evangelische Akademie," Zeitwende, XXIII (May, 1952), 726-29.

[2] For an excellent Biblical study of this subject see Eduard Schweitzer, Das Leben des Herrn, Vol. VIII Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testament (Zuerich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1946), pp. 50-59.

[3] Minister of the Interior Lehr in an address made at the dedication of the Loccum Academy, December 13, 1952, quoted in the Loccum Rundbrief, XXIII (January, 1953), 6.

> The Academy seeks to win as many parish ministers as possible to assume responsibility for the various specific vocational groups in their area in addition to their local parish work. In this way contact is to be established between professional and parish work. Also the individual pastor is to be helped to come out of what is often an ivory tower which limits his responsibility to the sphere of the home and to find at least one place of intensive contact with the realities of everyday life. It is to be his task to remain in touch with all developments within the professional group entrusted to him and to be responsible for the conferences planned for this group.[1]

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[1] Koller, op. cit., p. 15. Cf. also George Becker, "Was ist und Was will die Evangelische Akademie?" Die Neue Zeitung (Berlin), February 10, 1952. Becker underscores the need for some new form of the Church to reach beyond the limits of the typical parish. He has written, "The preaching of the Church hardly reaches the average man today. . . . The Evangelical Academy stands at the end of a long development in which all types of attempts have been undertaken to bring the preaching of the Church beyond the limits of the local congregation. These attempts for the most part have begun with some defect and have usually sought some short-cut solution. Of these attempts the Kirchentag is without a doubt the most important. It has been established because of the realization that the Church of today has failed to participate in mass society. . . . The Academy is a new form which has left the old form of evangelism with its revivalistic and apologetic methods far behind. The extensive

We have seen that within the Evangelical Academy itself there are two attitudes toward the crucial question of the Academy as the new form of the Church. It is not yet clear which direction the Academy will take in the second stage of its development. However, it is clear that some relationship must be established between the Academy and the local parish which will help to awaken the established congregations and not simply lead to parallel and competitive "Churches." As some Academy leaders argue, there are obvious dangers in developing a corps of Christian "elite." The rise of such a new Fuehrerschaft within the Church would have a negative influence in Germany and would militate against the loosening of the social structure of the Church--a change greatly needed in renewing the life of the German parishes. In stressing the responsibility of the Church to the world, the Academy as a bridge between the two, must, nevertheless, not forget its fundamental responsibility to the Church.

Both within the Church and the impersonal collectivities of secular society the search is being made for new forms of community.[1] It is precisely at this point that the Evangelical Academy faces its greatest test, namely leading men into a Christian community.

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experiences of the past years appear to confirm the Academy as a new and promising way to reach men with the Gospel whom the pastor cannot reach with his sermon."

[1] Within the Academy there has been considerable discussion of the question, "Is the local congregation the only form of congregational life?" Doehring has suggested that much study is required of the role of the congregation in the light of the New Testament if the Academy is to answer this difficult question. Cf. Doehring, "Von Hermannsburg nach Loccum," op. cit., p. 380.

The historical value of the Academies will be determined on the basis of the very practical question facing Christianity today: "Do the Academies help to develop forms within the Christian fellowship that will sustain the Christian in the world and help him to fulfill his duties?" If they do, this would be a tremendous contribution toward a living Christianity.[1]

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[1] Bishop Lilje in a sermon at the dedication of the Loccum Academy, December 13, 1952, cited in Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 69.

CHAPTER VII

A NEW WAY TO NINEVEH

A Promising Beginning

The Evangelical Academy has made a significant breakthrough in the reshaping of the Church in the modern world. In the Academy the outline of the new Church is emerging. Within German Protestantism there are those who regard the Academy as the most important development since the Reformation. Some Church leaders and many of the local clergy, however, are somewhat skeptical as to the permanence of this work and the ultimate value of its Christian witness.[1] Outside of the Church there are many who feel that in the Academy the Church has finally begun new and effective work in dealing with the problems of modern society. The enduring contributions of the Academy to German society and the Church will not be known, however, until sufficient time has passed to assess this new movement.

> Ten years is too short a period in the fast paced twentieth century to speak conclusively of the accomplishments of a spiritual institution./ Furthermore, in such a work in which the task is to heal people of their biased and destructive ways of thinking we must resist all attempts to prove its

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[1] For a survey of opinions expressed by Germans regarding the Academy, see the chapter entitled "The Role of the Evangelical Academies in Church and Society, in Thomas Luckmann, "The Evangelical Academies in Germany," Monograph No. II prepared under the project on Religion in Germany Today by the Research Division of the New School for Social Research, New York November, 1954. (mimeographed.)

> effectiveness with statistics and progress reports. The fact that today nearly one thousand Academy conferences are held annually with a total of over one hundred thousand participants, many of whom are in key positions, is no proof that something is really being accomplished here. There have been undertakings that have produced even greater numbers without leaving any positive effects. Still for many people this is a hopeful sign that the Church and the world have begun here to listen to each other once more with a vital interest and to seek eagerly how they can serve each other. This is certainly a step forward.[1]

The Evangelical Academy has been successful in establishing a bridge between the Church and the world. It has succeeded in bringing the two into conversation. One sign of this new discussion is the marked change which has taken place in the attitude of the daily press toward the Church in Germany.[2] Before the war there had been hardly a trace of the Church's existence to be found in German newspapers.[3] Today, however, the press coverage of Academy conferences and of Church activities in general is quite thorough. Some Academy conferences have received headline treatment.[4] This contact with the world is the result of the Church taking on a new form in the Evangelical Academy. The charge can no longer be made of the Church that she is simply living in a

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[1] Eberhard Mueller, "Hier Treffen sich Theologie und Welt," Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 7.

[2] Wendland, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[3] Hermann, *It's Your Souls We Want*, pp. 93-94.

[4] An example of such coverage was the Tutzing conference on jazz, January 22-24, 1954. The vast amount of newspaper articles to be found in the archives of the Academies can also be cited as evidence of this point. To take only one example, the *Mindiner Tageblatt* devoted several editions with full pages devoted to the exchange of letters which resulted from the paper's reports of the Loccum conference on the question of the new German Army in April, 1954. For several weeks following the pages of this newspaper continued to give extensive coverage of the continuing discussion of this question.

Ghetto, for she has found solid points of contact with the modern world. In the Academy the Church has rediscovered the world, and the world has rediscovered the Church. The Academy has done much to decrease the bitterness and distrust of many toward the Church and to create within German society a new sense of social partnership. The free and open atmosphere of Academy conferences has won a new respect for the Church and given to her proclamation of the Gospel authority and relevance. In areas where the Church has previously had little if any success the Academy has opened new frontiers. The contacts which the Academy has established with labor, management, politicians, and others has made it possible for the Church to follow closely the important developments in these areas. The unique success of the Academy in developing these contacts is that it has avoided the mistake of the past of associating itself with any one particular group and has remained free to cultivate new contacts.[1]

In the Evangelical Academy the German Protestant Church has gained a new perspective on herself. The increased awareness of social problems among the clergy and laity has focused a great deal of attention on the weaknesses of the Church's social structure. The result has been a good deal of critical self-analysis within the Church. In experimenting with new forms of Christian community the Academy has indicated the lines along which the local congregation must be reshaped to meet the needs of a rapidly changing society. In the programs of such Church organizations as the Men's Work the influence of the Academy is especially evident. In some parishes there has been a new stirring of life, with an increased concern to reach various groups in the community. Such new forms of congregational work as stewardship and visitation programs, discussion groups, and public meetings reflect an openness to new forms and a willingness to enter into conversation with society which is so characteristic of the Academy.

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[1] We have reference here to the Academy movement in general. While it is true that certain Academies have tended to associate themselves with a particular area such as labor or management, it is also true that every Academy maintains a program that touches a wide variety of social groups.

The German pulpit also reflects some influences of the Academy. The emphasis being given currently to the Gespraech-Predigt (dialogical sermon) is a direct import from the Evangelical Academy.[1] This type of preaching emphasizes the importance of the participation of the hearer directly or indirectly in the preparation and presentation of the sermon. Some pastors actually prepare their sermons with a group from the congregation.[2] Others make it a practice of critically reviewing the sermon with a select group from the congregation. The concern is to allow the hearers to become participants--to force the pastor to deal realistically with their questions. At the General Synod of Lutheran Churches meeting in Hamburg in May, 1957, the following recommendation was made:

> We encourage pastors and members of the congregation to discuss the sermon together. This will keep the preacher from becoming isolated and will teach those in the pew how to listen correctly. In this way a congregation will emerge which itself will convey the Word to new areas. The sermon will then also

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[1] Cf. Mueller-Schwefe, "Wie Spricht die Kirche des Wortes heute?" Die Predigt, H. Schnell (ed.) (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1957).

[2] Ibid., p. 53.

reach modern man in the pew and will be freed from those homiletical generalizations which have no biting thrust.[1]

The Academy has also done much to alert the Church to the social-ethical issues of the day and to bring her into contact with the two groups--the workers and the intelligentsia--which have traditionally disassociated themselves from the Church. The Synod of the Protestant Council of Churches in Germany (EKiD) meeting in Espelkamp in 1955 took cognizance of this important service of the Academy.[2] The Synod called attemtion to the wealth of material and experience available at the Academies and urged theologians to avail themselves of it. It was further recommended that theological students participate to a greater extent in the Academy program to equip them for understanding the social issues confronting the Church.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the Academy program has been to bring the influence of the Church into critical areas of modern German life. The eagerness of leading representatives of government, labor, industry, and other areas to participate in Academy conferences is clear evidence of the extent of the Academy's success. Of course it is difficult to measure precisely the degree to which Academy conferences have directly affected such things as new legislation (especially laws concerning co-determination rights and the remilitarization of Western Germany) and labor-management relations, but there can be no doubt that the impact of Academy conferences has been felt in these areas. Many

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 89.

[2] Klaus von Bismark (ed.), *Die Kirche und die Welt der industriellen Arbeit: Synode Espelkamp 1955* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1955), p. 77.

Church officials have discovered that in the Academy they have found it possible to speak about common problems with groups with which they as Churchmen previously had little if any contact. The atmosphere of trust created by such encounters at the Academy is of strategic value. The statement of the late Bundesminister Tillmanns that the existence of such institutions as the Evangelical Academy in the 1920's would have prevented Hitler is eloquent testimony of the effectiveness of the Academy by one who has closely followed the effect of this movement on Germany's social and political life.[1]

In a nation which has had little experience in democratic processes, the Academy's free and open discussion technique has contributed much in loosening the authoritarian social stratification in Germany and in quickening among the citizenry a sense of social and political responsibility.[2] In these centers which follow the motto "Everyone is completely free to speak his mind as long as he allows others the same privilege," groups accustomed to bitter debate have learned to treat each other as equals and to listen patiently to the other's argument. German society has not had the complex of voluntary associations which has provided broad democratic schooling in England and America, but in the Evangelical Academy a beginning has been made that may well be considered by later statesmen to be the most important contribution of the Academy to German life.

In its persistent effort to reach modern man the Evangelical Academy has demonstrated the effectiveness of dialogue as a new form of proclaiming the Gospel. In doing this the Academy has pioneered a new social form of Christian witness appropriate to our mass society. Through encounters and conversations at the Academy participants have rediscovered the "I--Thou" relationships which have largely disappeared in the collectivities of modern life.[1] The experience of community in the Academy has been one of the most cherished memories participants take home with them after a conference. The emergence of scores of Hauskreisen is clear evidence of this. The renewal of a community of faith through dialogue has led one social scientist to remark:

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[1] Tillmans, loc. cit., p. 28.

[2] Ibid.

> The discussion room has replaced the prayer chamber. That one speaks with another appears to be the fundamental institutional requirement of the new form faith is taking. This principle of dialogue lies at the basis of all modern attempts which seek to achieve a socially effective and revitalized faith and a re-awakening of religious life.[2]

Whatever new social structure the Church may take in the modern world the Academy has already indicated some of the salient features. In the Academy the Church has adopted a form which makes possible contact with the occupational, residential, political, and economic areas of modern life from which the local congregations have been largely isolated. To occupy this "middle ground" between the segmented parts of the contemporary social order the Church in the Academy has adopted the methods of the dialogue, neutrality and objectivity, informed discussions, patient listening and learning, informal worship and carefully planned field work. In the Academy the Church has become a place of discussion, encounter, and meditation. It has become a retreat center where all are made to feel welcome. In Germany, this new form of the Church has had promising success in bringing the Christian community into contact with the main forces and areas of modern life. The Academy provides a new form of the Church which recognizes the concern of Luther's social ethic of placing the Church in a responsible relationship to the world.

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[1] For an excellent discussion of the impact of collectivities on "intimate groups" see Schlesky, Wandlungen der Deutschen Familie in der Gegenwart (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1955), pp. 354 ff.

[2] Schelsky, "Ist die Dauerreflektion institutionalisierbar?" op. cit., p. 169.

A Hazardous Venture of Faith

The journey of the prophet Jonah to Nineveh was not an easy one. It was threatened with failure not only because of the risks involved in going to Nineveh, but also because of Jonah's stubborn refusal to be the vehicle of God's message. The mission of the Church to the modern world is likewise a perilous one filled with uncertainties and dangers. The pioneer work of the Academy is confronted by threats from both the world and the Church. There are pressures being brought to bear on this new movement which may well hinder its further successful development.

One of these threats comes from those who feel that the Evangelical Academy has been concerned only with practical issues and not with the great intellectual, cultural, and spiritual problems of our day. These critics see the Academy as providing merely ad hoc answers to the problems of modern society. This group directs the following questions to the Academy:

> Is the spiritual and intellectual power of the Academy sufficient to be an integrating force in the world? Does the Academy have sufficient substance and clarity in its theological concepts to be effective as the "light and salt of the world"? Will the Academy remain true to its source of faith in Christ and not allow itself to be led astray to quick solutions or into conformation to the world? Or is there not a great danger that the Academy tries to find its way with a too cheap distinction between Church and world?[1]

The criticism of the Evangelical Academy as lacking sufficient theological substance has been made, for example, by Otto Dilschneider in his book, _Das Christliche Weltbild_ (_The Christian World View_).[2] Dilschneider argues that the Protestant Church is not yet theologically prepared to undertake the task of providing solutions to secular problems. Both confessional Lutheranism and the dialectical theology of the Reformed Church, with their emphasis on the salvation of the individual, have isolated the Christian from the world.[3] The ethic which results from this emphasis is an individualistic ethic. Dilschneider maintains that the relationship between God and man has been taken out of its proper context of God's relationship to all creation. As a result the relationship of man to the world has become a problem for Protestantism.[4] This crisis is particularly evident in our day when we are confronted with a "secularized" world.

Dilschneider sees the essence of the true "Academy idea" in the possession of an integrated world view which embraces man and cosmos--the totality of existence.

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[1] Mueller-Schwefe, "Neuer Weg nach Ninive," _op cit_., p. 71.

[2] Otto A. Dilschneider, _Das Christliche Weltbild_ (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1951).

[3] _Ibid_., p. 57.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 59.

> An Academy as well as a university is based on the realization that the Spirit (Geist) is the highest principle and unity of all knowledge. At the heart of the true Academy lies the idea of the universal (universitas).[1]

But in all the discussions, conferences, and organized activity of the post-war German Church Dilschneider sees only a "deceptive boom" in Church life and no profound change in the Church's relationship to the world.[2]

> If we examine the colorful array of programs of the Evangelical Academies--and which Territorial Church does not want an Evangelical Academy today?--we discover that the Academy means something quite different from the conception originally associated with this word. We find that all the Evangelical Academies are merely operating resorts for occupational conferences of lawyers, physicians, journalists, farmers, white collar workers and so forth. If we take a good look into the hearts of the Church leaders engaged in this work, we must confess that here is nothing more than an evangelistic mission to occupational groups carried on at a higher social level and with correspondingly higher standards. The authentic concept of an Academy--in so far as it concerns itself with a place of scholarly research--is hardly realized by such activities.[3]

Dilschneider asserts that the proper task of an Evangelical Academy should be to formulate a Protestant theology which would go beyond the narrow confines of an ethic of vocation and encompass the totality of life. A view of the world must be found which will give us once more a grasp of the "universe" and provide a basis for a Christian culture. According to Dilschneider the achievement of this Christian world-view will determine the success or failure of the Evangelical Academy. "Therefore, the Evangelical Academy has really become a task for Protestant theology."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 61.

[2] Dilschneider, Gefesselte Kirche, p. 8.

[3] Dilschneider, Das Christliche Weltbild, pp. 61-62.

[4] Ibid., p. 63.

The Evangelical Academy which has arisen in Germany is quite different from what Dilschneider thinks it should be.[1] The Academy has deliberately sought to avoid becoming a "learned institute" where men gather to speak "about" God. Rather, it seeks to bring men into an encounter with God where the response of faith and not simply academic reflection will occur.[2] Dilschneider's concept of the task of the Church in dealing with the problems of the modern world is that of the nineteenth century which the Academy has deliberately rejected. He fails to recognize the need for a new form of Church life and witness. According to Academy leaders the failure of German theology in the past has been to assume that the problems confronting the Church could be solved through formulations, syntheses, and systems.

> If Dilschneider not only says but actually means that everything depends on our achieving a universal Christian world-view, that we need only formulate such a world-view in order to overcome the broken unity of man and cosmos, then he pursues a goal which the Academy has vigorously rejected.[3]

The Academy is well aware that it cannot simply follow an ad hoc approach to theological and ethical questions. There must be a solid theological basis. But the Church cannot know or address the problems of the modern world only through the kind of theoretical approach suggested by Dilschneider. To accomplish this involves a change in the social structure of the Church, and this Dilschneider fails to recognize. The Academy does seek through its Study Commission, however, to pursue the problems raised at the Academy conferences through scholarly research by capable theologians and men of other faculties. Out of these studies the Academy hopes to provide the raw material for a new view of the world and thus make a basic contribution to Protestant theology. The goal of the Study Commission work, however, is not to construct a comprehensive theological system, but rather to try to bring the Christian faith into sharper focus in regard to actual problems confronting the Church in order that she may find new ways of faithfully witnessing to the Gospel.

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[1] Cf. the criticism of Dilschneider by Bernhard Maurer, "Glaube ohne Weltbild," Deutsche Universitaetszeitung, X (October, 1955), 12-13.

[2] Mueller-Schwefe, "Die Evangelische Akademien in der Tradition abendendlaendischen Denkens," loc. cit., p. 8.

[3] Erwin Metzke, "Die Evangelische Akademien und das 'christliche Weltbild,'" Die Neue Furche, VI (July, 1952), 447.

Another threat to the future of the Academy lies in its drive toward the world. As one observer has noted, "The work of the Academy is dangerous for it is continually being threatened with 'secularization.'"[1] In the Academy's dialogue with the world the tendency toward specialization in secular matters threatens at times to make of conferences nothing but technical discussions. In such dialogue there is clearly a danger. The discussions are so involved in factual material and in the problems of the particular social groups that the conferences can easily become bogged down in purely preliminary matters.[2] If the Academy is to fulfill its task, it must "live from the very heart of the Christian faith."[3] The Evangelical Academy must be secular but not autonomous.

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[1] Wendland, op. cit., p. 103.

[2] Ibid., p. 209.

[3] Guenther, "Die Verantwortung der Kirche in unserer Zeit," loc. cit., p. 8.

The Academy must remain a bridge between Church and society by means of which the Christian message may be brought to bear on the problems of the modern world. Even though the methods used by the Academy have been successful, it is not the employment of techniques alone which is the genius of the Academy.[1]

The increasing emphasis on the meditative element in the Academy program indicates the awareness among Academy leaders of the particular need in such secular work to maintain a vital Christian faith. This does not constitute a retreat from the Academy's secular program, but is rather the necessary counterpart of its service to the world. The vitality of the Academy can only be sustained by continually returning to the source of its faith and life.

> One has the impression that we have much organization and activity and are exceptionally busy, but that this vitality does not really come from God. . . . Perhaps in this moment of history we do not have the strength to shape the future of a new Europe. We do not perhaps have the resources to maintain freedom and to create a sound economy for there are powerful demonic forces at work. But the strength we have lies in our being disciples of Christ. . . . However, our poverty is our greatest treasure. It is not this world which can give us life, but only God. It is only as we discover this that we shall be able to bear the light of faith in this world--as those who are poor, yet making many rich.[2]

The Academy has recognized the integral relationship between the worship life of the Church and her ministry to the needs of the world--between liturgy and diakonia. The role that the Michael Brotherhood (a movement which seeks to renew the liturgical life of the Church) has had in the development of the Evangelical Academy bears clear witness to this unity of worship and work. Liturgy and social responsibility must not be separated.[1]

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[1] Nevertheless, some centers have been established after the pattern of the Academy but independent of the Church and with no Christian commitment. Such centers are the Grenzlandakademie Sankelmark in Sleswick-Holstein and the more recently established "Haus Rissen" in Hamburg cited by Thielicke in a letter dated December 16, 1956.

[2] Hans Mueller-Schwefe, "Ueberwindung der proletarischen Existenz," Guntershausen Rundbrief, III (November, 1949), 5-14.

> Diakonia is the way from the altar of God out into the world. It is an intercession which bears the social and cultural realities to the altar. Diakonia and leiturgia belong together.[2]

In the life of the early Church it has been noted that "diakonia, as a general provision for the poor, was a natural form of expressing the liturgy. Diakonia originated in the liturgy."[3] Only as it carefully maintains this unity of faith and service will the Evangelical Academy succeed in its task of providing for the Church a new form which will enable her to bring her ministry to the world.

However, the emphasis on meditative conferences also represents a threat to the Academy idea. The pressures on the Academy to return to old forms and patterns constitute a constant danger that the Academy will withdraw from its strategic role as the meeting ground between the Church and the world and become simply a place of retreat for the Church. Such a retrenchment at a safe distance from involvement in the world would represent the very "social pietism" which the Academy must overcome if it is to continue to serve on the frontier of the Church's social-ethical witness.

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[1] Cf. A. G. Hebert, Liturgy and Society (London: Faber and Faber, 1935), pp. 202-03.

[2] Ernst zur Nieden, "Evangelische Akademie: ein neuer Kulturprotestantismus?" Kirche in der Zeit, IX (October, 1954), 213.

[3] Bo Reicke, "Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos," Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, V (1951), 48.

The Evangelical Academy faces the further danger of routinization. The initial success of this program and the prestige it quickly gained caused considerable activity among the Territorial Churches. Every Church had to have an Academy![1] Whereas the first Academies had appeared quite spontaneously in the years immediately following the war, the later ones were the result of the careful planning and organization of Church officials. The work had once been an adventurous act of faith, but soon Church leaders saw it as a sound undertaking which followed established procedures. As early as 1953 one Academy leader commented on the growing routinization of this program by citing a verse from Melanchton.

> In conferences our lives transpire,
> Until therein they at last expire.[2]

The danger that the Academy might rest on its initial successes and fail to venture into new areas is a geniune threat to this new movement. The Academy staff which is involved in conference after conference can easily become routinized and de-personalized by the continued pressures of its work. Some Academies have brought in fresh staff members, but where the old ones remain there is a danger of certain rigidities developing. Among the participants there is a tendency for the repeaters to return seeking a certain "experience" at the Academy and to speak of the "good old days." The Academy leaders are not unaware of this problem.

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[1] This ecclesiastical phenomenon led to the observation by some that the Academies were becoming "institutes of the bishops." Cf. interview with Eberhard Mueller, June 1, 1954.

[2] Hans Schomerus, loc. cit., p. 1.

> The Academy will have failed in its task, if it were already to become rigid and "historical." The Academy must remain in the midst of today's tensions and take its share of the burden and strain.[1]

If the Academy becomes only a place for constant discussing, a center where one "retreats" to reflect on the problems of modern life, but does not lead its participants to practical action or to participation in a Christian community, then it will cease to be a bridge. Then the Academies would become nothing more than "club-like institutions addressing themselves to a special intellectual clique, and their original dynamism could become simply a historical curiosity."[2] If this were to happen the Church would not take on a new form and its contact with the modern world would continue to be severely limited. Such questions of the Academy's future have been raised, for example, by the eminent German sociologist, Helmut Schelsky:

> What is really desired in these modern religious institutions? Continuous reflection without action? Inwardness without concern for the external? The solitude of the individual and no community? Constant discourse for the purpose of becoming silent?[3]

The Academy must continually be in the process of achieving, discovering, and becoming.[4] Its future success will be determined to a large extent by its willingness to pursue the adventure of dialogue to ever new areas. The Evangelical Academy must not become simply a training institute of the Church where indoctrination replaced conversation, where the Church's monologue _to_ the world replaces dialogue _with_ the world.[1] This work is and must continue to be a venture of faith. If the Academy succeeds in overcoming these hazards, it will be because it has recognized that careful and shrewd planning _and_ charismatic power are the necessary requirements for this frontier work.[2]

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[1] Gerd Heinz-Mohr in Der Mensch in der Wirtschaft, IV (February, 1954).

[2] Luckmann in Christianity and Crisis, XVII (May 27, 1957), 70.

[3] Schlesky, loc. cit., p. 174.

[4] For new programs being pioneered by the Academies, see Erich Mueller-Gangloff, "Evangelische Akademie--Ende und Anfang," Quatember, XX (Christmas, 1955), 32-35.

The New Shape of the Church

In Germany a new form of the Church is emerging in the Evangelical Academy. The rigid hierarchical structure of German Protestantism and the peculiar social structure of the local parishes have contributed greatly to the fact that the Academy has been established outside the local congregation and with notable freedom from ecclesiastical bureaucracy. As a result the Academy in Germany has found its role in mediating between Church and society. This occupation of the "middle ground" has had the positive advantage of enabling the Academy to become a bridge between the two, but has made it difficult to enlist the full support of the local congregations and clergy in this new work.

Another characteristic of German life which has given the Academy its special emphasis is the solid respect for authority so deeply engrained in the German mind. The Academies have frequently used pivotal leaders of German industrial, political, and intellectual life to attract participants to their conferences. The early success in winning the support of influential figures in management, for example, made it possible for the Academy to reach the lower strata of management and to inaugurate a successful program for apprentices.[1] It is the practice of the Academy to use experts as lecturers and with typical German thoroughness to let them speak sometimes for several hours. The elevated status of the intellectual in German society has been clearly reflected in the program of the Academy. The great emphasis placed on discussion reflects German passion for the academic side of an issue. By contrast, Christian centers similar to the Evangelical Academy in England and France incorporate considerable physical labor and other activities in their programs in addition to lectures and discussions.

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[1] Wischmann, "Die Arbeitsweise der Evangelische Akademien," _op. cit_., p. 263.

[2] Cf. Stroh, "Vom Leben zur Lehre: Werden und Wachsen einer Akademie-Tagung," _op. cit_.

The Territorial Church structure in Germany has also been a factor in the form of the Academy. It has been possible for the Academies to deal with large geographical areas of German society. Because of the status which the bishops have, particularly in their territory, their support of the Academies has given this program considerable prestige. Even those outside the Church are so conditioned by the historical role of the Church in German life that they are not unwilling to accept a new form such as the Academy as a manifestation of the Church's proper sense of responsibility for all of society. The Academy in its role of counsellor in social and political matters is for many but a recasting of the old "court chaplain" (Hofprediger) so prominent in civic affairs in the past.

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[1] Supra, Chapter III, pp. 87ff.

The consideration of the peculiar German character of the Evangelical Academy is particularly important when we seek to estimate the ecumenical significance of the Academy as a new form of the Church. A great deal of interest in these new Christian centers has been generated outside of Germany, but little is known of the exact nature and scope of the Academy program. Many Church leaders in other countries are anxious to import this German program.

> One would almost have to ask why--with certain exceptions--the Academies, for the most part, are still leading a separate existence confined essentially to German-speaking areas. Are they not perhaps called, as almost no other section of Christian work today is, to open up a vertical ecumenicity and in so doing to confront the churches with the seriousness and depth of the actual problems today? But as yet there has been no confrontation in this sense between the ecumenical movement and the work of the Academies. The ecumenical movement, and beyond it a large percentage of people in the West, have till now seenin the Academies little more than an interesting experiment of the German Church that may in many respects be worthy of imitation.[1]

Just as the character of modern German life has done much to shape the Evangelical Academy so the form that similar work takes elsewhere will depend to a great extent on the conditions of Church and society in any given country. The structure of the German Territorial Churches is quite different, for example, from the complex and confusing array of denominations in the United States. Whereas it is possible in Germany to think of Protestantism as embracing large segments of life, in America it is almost inconceivable that the multitude of denominations would be able to play a similar role. There are no bishops in America, for example, who can speak officially for the Protestant community in a given area. In the American pluralistic society such a concept of the larger parish is lacking. An American Academy would have to face the problem of relating the Church, represented by an aggregate of denominations, to society. American Protestant parishes by and large serve a clientele rather than geographical areas. Their ministry does not encompass the whole man, his occupation, home and leisure. A new form of the Church touching all areas of modern American life is required to regain the concept of the parish as including the broad scope of the Church's concern.[1]

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[1] Bolewski, loc. cit., p. 341.

These differences make it impossible simply to import the German Academy into the American scene. There are in American society certain factors which would determine the shape of such a program. For example, the less rigid structure of American Church life and the lesser role given to historical tradition would make it possible for an Academy type program to be developed with a much closer relationship to the local congregation. The American Protestant parish has far more social heterogeneity than her counterpart in Germany. In the pews of the American Church are many who would very likely be on the outside of the Church in Germany. The problem facing the American Church is perhaps less that of searching for a new social form in order to reach those outside her doors, than a new form which will enable her to enter a substantial and meaningful conversation with those who are already counted as belonging to the Church community. The development of centers of discussion in depth, however, may prove more difficult in America than in Germany. The average American is far more interested in practical action than in academic or theological discussion. Furthermore, in the American social milieu an Academy would have to compete with scores of aggressive and robust organizations which already offer opportunities for discussion and community.

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[1] Cf. Nels Ferre, Christianity and Society (New York: Harper, 1950), p. 170.

The American Church has demonstrated an ability to develop new patterns for lay activity in such things as stewardship and evangelism. Contact with the people has been established, but there is lacking a deep understanding of the social and spiritual problems. The American manufactured programs of stewardship and evangelism must go beyond the goal of simply putting more paying members in the pews. What is needed is a "New Stewardship" and a "New Evangelism" which will lead the laity to responsible and influential roles in Church and society. The Evangelical Academy can make an important contribution toward this goal of training the laity of the American Protestant Church for responsible existence in the modern world.

The basic answer which the Evangelical Academy provides for overcoming the isolation of the Church from modern life can be applied to the American scene and elsewhere. A successful Academy program cannot, however, be developed in other countries simply by imitating the German Academy. This is not a matter of imitation, but of vocation. Imitation is in fact the opposite of vocation. An Evangelical Academy must face the concrete social-ethical responsibilities in the particular society it has been called to serve. The attempt to propose the German Academy as a panacea for the social-ethical problems in America, for example, would be, in effect, a denial of the particular vocation of the American Church. The Church in each country must be willing to reshape her structure in terms of the society in which she exists.

The contribution of the German Evangelical Academy to the new shape of the Church is not, however, simply a matter of structure. The success of this work in Germany depended to no small degree on the preparedness of the Church to venture into a new form of work when the creative moment came immediately after the war. Out of the Church Struggle and the war experiences there was generated in the German Church a vitality which resulted in decisive action at the critical moment. The reshaping of the Church will depend to a great extent on the courage and faith of the Christian community to respond to such moments of creative responsibility.

> The moment is the time of responsibility, of concern for value--yet, let us say of concern for God and for what is fundamental. The moment is concrete time. And only in concrete time does the actual claim of the ethical take place.[1]

In the Academy the German Church has deliberately engaged in a dialogue concerning the questions of "concrete time." In doing this the Church is demonstrating clearly that her place is in the world and that to maintain this post she must continually be prepared to take on new social forms. After a period of voluntary and enforced isolation the Protestant Church in Germany has taken a bold step toward the world. This movement toward the world has its perils, but it is necessary in supplying the missing platform for the construction of a Christian social ethic for our day. In its emphasis on the necessary and responsible relation of the Church and the world based on a clear understanding of their distinctness the Academy is giving fresh expression and relevance to the central concepts of Luther's social ethic.

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[1] Bonhoeffer, Sanctorum Communio, p. 26.

The form the Church must assume in modern society finds its basic outlines in the Evangelical Academy. Like Jonah the German Church through bitter experience has found a new and successful way to Nineveh. This way to the center of contemporary life the Church must pursue if she is to play a significant role in the modern world.

APPENDIX I

OTHER EARLY ACADEMIES

The work of the Evangelical Academy in Hesse-Nassau can be dated from February, 1946. At that time leaders of the Men's Work of the Church of Hesse-Nassau inaugurated retreats in the Forsthaus Echzell near Bad Nauheim. This actually makes Hesse-Nassau the second oldest Academy. However, Hermannsburg was the second one having a permanent center. Unlike the origins of Bad Boll and Hermannsburg the work in Hesse-Nassau began through the program of a Church organization. The Church of Hesse-Nassau was not officially reorganized, however, until 1946. Consequently, the Academy pre-dates the Hesse-Nassau Church office--a fact which indicates the urgency which these Church leaders felt in undertaking this work. The conferences held in the Forsthaus and, during the winter months, in the Spessartsanatorium in Bad Orb were organized by Pastor Ernst zur Nieden, the director of Men's Work. He was assisted by Dr. Hans Kallenbach, a layman who was particularly concerned with work among professional groups. The Hesse-Nassau Academy developed its program through the men's organizations of the local parishes. Pastor zur Nieden had seen the techniques the Nazis had effectively used in dealing with specific occupational groups and he felt that the Church should do something similar.[1] In visiting the schools throughout Hesse-Nassau Kallenbach discovered that the teachers were in great need of discussing the problems of their profession and questions of faith. The first year there were five conferences for teachers, three for lawyers, and two for doctors. The first conference, which was held for teachers, had only eight guests. But by the end of that first year some one thousand people had attended the Hesse-Nassau Academy.[1] Later conferences were held between representatives of various occupations. These first meetings raised certain issues with which the Academy sought to deal by issuing a series of publications beginning in September,1947, entitled "Kirche und Welt." One of the first of these was Hans Dombois' Menschenrechte und Moderner Staat (Rights of Man and the Modern State).[2] The same year the Hesse-Nassau Academy began its successful conferences for the educated laity. The next year the so-called "problem conferences" on political and economic issues were inaugurated.

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[1] Interview with Dr. Hans Kallenbach, director of the Hesse Academy, May 31, 1954.

Hamburg and Guntershausen

The Evangelical Academy in Hamburg also dates back to 1946. The idea of an Academy had been seriously discussed at that time by Dr. Junge and officials of the Hamburg Church. They were impressed by the success of Bad Boll and took steps to bring together leading representatives of various professions for discussions. The first such group consisted of doctors, lawyers, and administrators who met for "A Day of Quiet and Reflection."[3] The Hamburg

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[1] Report of Ernst zur Nieden of the Hesse Academy, March 15, 1947. (In the files of the Academy.)

[2] Hans Dombois, Menschenrechte und Moderner Staat (Frankfurt/M: Druckerei Otto Lembeck, 1948).

[3] Letter from Gerhard Guenther, director of the Evangelical Academy, Hamburg, July 7, 1954.

Academy had no permanent center but concentrated on evening lectures and on regular meetings of the various groups it organized along professional lines. The first planned program of regular lectures was initiated in July, 1947. This date marks the official beginning of the Hamburg Academy.

The conferences of the Hesse-Nassau Academy held in Bad Orb attracted attention to the north in the Church of Kurhessen-Waldeck. Bishop Wuestemann took the initiative for establishing the Academy. He selected as its director Dr. Mueller-Schwefe. The first conference was for lawyers and was held in July, 1947, in Guntershausen, a small village near Kassel. The fact that the Academy was still in the experimental stage is demonstrated by the fact that the new center in Guntershausen was not officially dedicated because the leaders were not certain just how long this new program would last.[1] Conferences were planned both for occupational groups and for specific problems. Bishop Wuestemann and director Mueller-Schwefe issued a joint letter to the people of the Kurhessen-Waldeck Church in the summer of 1947 stressing the need for a center where discussions with the world could be held.

> Man has been placed in question. As a result the Church and the world have been driven toward each other. The congregation of Christ is asked: "What do you say to the collapse of the world? Are you not also guilty that the world has become alienated from God? Have you remained true to the love of God who desires that the world be saved? Have you learned how to hear the world and its need?" The world is asked: "Have you seen the firmness of the Church's stand in the past years? What was it based upon? Do you know from whence comes the destruction and dissolving of the social order, or why our picture of man has become distorted into something inhuman?" With such questions the Church and world must confront each other.[2]

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[1] Guntershausen Rundbrief, VIII (August, 1952), 2.

[2] Letter of Bishop Wuestemann and Director Mueller-Schwefe to the people of Kurhessen-Waldeck, July, 1946. (In the files of the Academy.)

The people who responded and came to the conferences represented a wide variety of professions and social strata.

> People came from Hesse, Bremen, Duesseldorf, and Hannover. They were expellees, refugees, officials and sales people. Next to a countess sat a former anarchist; next to a communist a former army officer; next to a student a housewife. Here were the young and old, the rich and poor, together--a mirror of our time.[1]

Tutzing and Other Academies

About the time of the opening of the Academy in Guntershausen another Evangelical Academy was being founded through the initiative of Bishop Meiser of the Bavarian Church. Since March, 1947, successful retreats had been held at an "Evangelical Vacation Home" under the leadership of Pastor Hans Schmidt and Dr. August Knorr.[2] In 1948 Bishop Meiser decided to set up a trial Academy for six months under the leadership of Pastor Gerhard Hildmann. The beautiful little castle in Tutzing on the Starnberger Lake was acquired for the new center.[3] The immediate success of the work insured a permanent place for the Academy in the Bavarian Church. At this time an Academy was also established at Falkenburg in the Church of Baden by Bishop Bender. Pastor Friedrich Schauer was appointed by the Bishop to become the first director. The Baden Academy was later moved to the Charlottenruhe House in Herrnalb where Pastor Hans Schomerus directed the work of the Academy.

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[1] Hans Mueller-Schwefe in Guntershausen Rundbrief, III (November, 1949), 3.

[2] Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1945-1948, p. 381.

[3] Interview with Pastor Hildmann, director of the Evangelical Academy Tutzing, June 6, 1954.

The establishment of an Academy in Rhineland-Westphalia had been discussed as early as 1946, but it was not until 1950 that a regular Academy was established. However, a program very similar to that of an Academy was begun early in 1947 in the Christophorus-Stift in Hemer. Since early 1946 Professors Wilhelm Schuessler and Helmut Lindemann and Bishop Wilhelm Staehlin of Oldenburg had considered establishing a center for academic research. Staehlin, together with President Koch of the Westphalia Church, was able to convince the leaders of six Territorial Churches in the British Zone to support such a program. These were the Churches of Westphalia, Rhineland, Sleswick-Holstein, Oldenburg, Luebeck, and Bremen. The work of the Hemer Research Institute was begun in February, 1947, though the first actual conference did not take place until March, 1948. Professor Friedrich Karl Schumann was called to be the director. He had already begun similar work while professor of systematic theology at Halle (East Zone). Assisting him on the research staff were Professor Wilhelm Schuessler, Guenter Howe, and Hans Dombois.[1] The few Academy-type conferences held at the Christophorus-Stift were designed to gain wider support for the work. But the major emphasis was placed upon research studies in relating Christian theology to the specific problems of modern life. The Churches of Kurhessen-Waldeck, Bavaria, Baden, Pfalz, Hamburg, and the Reformed Church of Northwest Germany later joined in supporting this program.

The Academy directors of the various Evangelical Academies met to share their experiences and plan the future of this movement very early in the history of the Academy. Director Doehring, for example, travelled to Bad Boll to confer with Eberhard Mueller about the new Hermannsburg Academy. In 1946 the Academy leaders all met in Bad Echzell to lay the groundwork for a common organization. Out of this grew the Leaders' Circle of the Academy. The next year a conference of Christian Academicians was sponsored by this leaders' group. To this meeting in Heidelberg came some eight hundred persons from all parts of Germany. The Society of the Evangelical Academy was organized at Heidelberg from the ranks of the alumni groups of the DSCV and student congregations. This provided a group of educated laity who committed themselves to support the work of the Academy throughout Germany.[1] Early in 1947 a special conference was held in Bad Boll to which were invited leading intellectuals to discuss the work of the Academy with the directors.[2] Out of this conference grew the organization called "The Study Commission of the Evangelical Academy." This commission was divided into seven specialized committees to carry on research work on the various problems which emerged from the Academy's conferences. Some one hundred professors and other specialists were quickly enlisted for this work. Professor Siebeck of Heidelberg was chosen the first chairman with Professor Thielicke as deputy chairman.[3]

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[1] Letter from Hans Dombois of the Christophorus-Stift Research Staff, July 6, 1954.

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[1] Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 1945-1948, p. 383.

[2] Hermannsburg Rundbrief, II (April, 1947), 2-3.

[3] Das Parlament (Bonn), October 19, 1955, p. 7.

APPENDIX II

ACADEMIES FOUNDED AFTER 1948

Five new Academies were established in 1948. These were Sleswick-Holstein, Brunswick, and Villigst in the West Zone and Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia in the East Zone. The work in Sleswick-Holstein actually dates back to 1945 when several university professors organized the "Sleswick Church School" for idle students during this period when all schools and organizations were forbidden to function.[1] This school also sought to serve the needs of the many teachers and members of other occupations who were unemployed as a result of the de-nazification program. These early discussions dealt with factual questions within the various occupations and with their implications for the Christian faith. The work of the German Protestant Relief Agency, Hilfswerk, did much to activate the laity and led to the organization of a "Lay Service" of the Sleswick-Holstein Church with headquarters at Ploen. The work of the Sleswick-Holstein Academy has been built around these lay people and former members of the DCSV and the Student Congregations. This Academy more than any other has been marked by its strong emphasis on training and recruiting an active laity. The first conference was held in the spring of 1948 in the Martinhaus in Rendsburg. Bishop Halfmann of the Sleswick-Holstein Church was directly responsible for the establishing of the Academy. The chairman of the Academy Borad was Professor Hans Hertzberg, dean of the theological faculty of the University of Kiel. He provided an important bridge between the University and the Academy. Although many of the meetings were held in the Martinshaus, the Sleswick-Holstein Academy had no permanent quarters until March, 1954. Some Academy conferences were held at the University of Kiel, some in the large Domhalle in Schleswig, and others in the Gottorf Castle. Youth meetings were organized at the Christian Youth Center in Koppelsberg on Lake Ploen. In July the Province of Sleswick-Holstein opened the Grenzlandakademie Sankelmark and offered its facilities to the Evangelical Academy. The present Academy director is Dr. Friedrich Heyer. Some thirty Academy conferences for a wide range of professional groups and problems are held each year with an annual attendance of two thousand.

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[1] Evangelische Akademie Schleswig-Holstein, Conference Program for 1952, p. 5.

The two characteristic features of the Academy program in Sleswick-Holstein are the small size of the meetings and the Lay Conferences. Some conferences have had as few as twenty participants. This makes more personal and intensive work possible. The Lay Conference, on the other hand, is designed like the Kirchentag to attract large numbers.[1] These meetings are held in such places as the lecture rooms of the Kiel University. At the ninth Lay Conference of the Sleswick-Holstein Academy, for example, some 250 participants were registered for the four days of meetings. In addition to these, some four to five hundred people attended the lectures each evening. This particular conference was held in August, 1950. It dealt with the problems of the school and the home. The theme was "A Way Out of the Educational and Training Crisis." Representatives of the schools, parents, government, Church, labor, youth and free-thinkers were invited. The Sleswick-Holstein Academy has a separate department for this program under the direction of Felix Miller. One of the aims of the Department for Lay Work of this Academy is to revive the office of deacons and to help them become real lay leaders.[1] The creation of "spiritual offices" with concrete tasks for every member of the congregation is also one of the goals sought. The more immediate purpose of these lay conferences is to investigate the various issues facing the Church in order to determine where the responsibilities lie and what programs are needed within the congregations.

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[1] The Evangelical Kirchentag is a movement which seeks to reach great masses of German Protestant laity. It is closely connected with and very similar to the Evangelical Weeks described in Chapter II. The Kirchentag is an annual or semi-annual Protestant laymen's rally which was begun under the initiative of Reinhold von Thadden-Trieglaff and has been closely associated with the Academy movement. Many Academy leaders such as Eberhard Mueller, Mueller-Schwefe, and Wischmann have responsible roles in the Kirchentag program. The first Evangelical Kirchentag was held in Essen in 1950. Since then these great rallies with their four or five days of group meetings and the closing mass meeting on Sunday have met in Berlin (1951), Stuttgart (1952), Hamburg (1953), Leipzig (1954), and Frankfurt (1956). At the closing rally of the Leipzig Kirchentag an estimated 650,000 people attended. Cf. Kirchentag Calling, ed. Bernard Causton, Ecumenical Committee, Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag, Frankfut/Main, 1956.

> The "pastors'" Church is a false conception. But the impression that the pastors are the Church has become deeply rooted. We do not mean to disparage this important office which Christ has established for the spreading of the Word, the distribution of the Sacraments and the shepherding of the congregation. But Christ also desires to exercise His power in business offices, in the practice of medicine, in government bureaus, and in the school room. This can only be accomplished through a spiritually awakened laity.[2]

The work of the Evangelical Academy in the Brunswick Church also began in 1948. Like the Sleswick-Holstein Academy, this Academy also has no permanent home. The Church leaders in Brunswick appointed Pastor Fritz Rienecker to direct a religious education seminar for parish workers, catechists, and teachers of religion in the public schools.[1] Pastor Rienecker began his work on May 1, 1948. The seminar consisted of a four-semester course with classes in English, philosophy, theology, music, and other subjects. Eighteen classes were held each day Monday through Friday. The Brunswick Academy began her work in co-operation with this seminar. Pastor Rienecker had the responsibility for this dual program which was located in the town of Wolfenbuettel. The same lectures were shared by both groups, but the Academy had special short-term conferences of her own for professional groups. A monthly report was circulated among the alumni who had been organized into an Academy Brotherhood for the purpose of supporting this work. The Academy program was later separated from the seminar work and moved to the city of Brunswick, where Pastor Reinhard Herdieckerhoff became the new director. Like the Academy in Hamburg the Brunswick Academy also organized evening lectures, plays, and concerts. Twice a year a special week of lectures was held for the general public. During the week of November 10-16, 1952, lectures were held under the theme, "The Modern Man." On Monday a medical doctor spoke on anxiety and psychiatry. On Tuesday an author discussed the work of T. S. Eliot and the meaning of life among contemporary writers. On Wednesday a lecture was given by Dr. Junge of the Hamburg

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[1] Cf. the report on the Evangelical Academy Schleswick-Holstein Department of Lay Work in the Academy's Rundbrief, Vol. X (October 20, 1950).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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[1] Letter from Pastor Fritz Rienecker, Director of Brunswick Academy, Wolfenbuettel, October 4, 1948.

Academy entitled, "German Existentialists among the poets." Thursday a painter spoke on the topic, "Modern painting as the expression of modern man." The next evening a teacher dealt with the subject, "The French Existentialists." Saturday a doctor spoke on the "Totality of Man." Finally, on Sunday evening Director Herdieckerhoff concluded the series with a lecture on "Man Today and Christianity."

The third center established in 1948 was quite different from the other Academies, yet its work has been closely associated with that of the Evangelical Academy. This is the Villigst Student House near Schwerte in the Ruhr area. In 1948 Helmut Keusen returned to his homeland from a prisoner of war camp with the conviction that something positive must come out of the war. He acquired the use of an old estate, where he gathered students who were working in the Ruhr factories earning money for their further education. Many were returnees like himself. A program was organized whereby some forty students of both sexes lived at Villigst for six months while they earned money. Their common life in this house included morning and evening worship, evening classes, week end trips, and other activities. Unlike the usual Academy participants, these were all committed Christians who were anxious to find some intimate Christian community in which to strengthen their faith. The students financed the program at Villigst themselves. After they leave they continue to serve as its patrons and maintain the right to vote on its governing board. Out of this work has risen the national organization called "Evangelische Studienwerk" which is now supported by nearly all the Protestant churches. In addition to the courses in which the resident student takes part, some Academy-type conferences are held for various groups. The Villigst program is dedicated to the development of these students into responsible lay men and women who will bring a deeper sense of a Christian community to the local congregations and who will relate their faith to the problems of their profession.[1] The Student House is also the headquarters for the Social and Catechetical offices of the Westphalia Church which use it as a center for their own conferences.

The students come from all the faculties of the university. By October, 1953, 343 students had completed the Villigst course. Of these, seventy-six studied philosophy, sixty-nine studied natural science, thirty-eight technology, forty-three law, thirteen sociology, forty-two medicine, ten fine arts, fourteen education, and thirty-eight theology.[2] Groups of Villigst alumni are now organized in nearly every university. They maintain close contact with each other through frequent retreats and through the news letters sent out by directors Dr. Willy Kromp and Helmut Keusen of the Evangelisches Studienwerk in Villigst. The purpose of the work at Villigst is stated in a brochure sent to each candidate.

> In a time when the very foundation of our thinking and acting has been seriously questioned, the task of assisting and training a new generation of useful scholars has become extremely important. It is not enough simply to give out scholarships to those obviously gifted in various specialties. The well trained specialist may be necessary, but experience has shown that he is often too one sided to be able to contribute decisively to the overcoming of the crisis in education

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[1] Die Rheinphalz (Ludwigshafen), June 5, 1952.

[2] Evangelisch Studienwerke.v. Studienhaus Villigst, Report of November, 1953, p. 9.

> or to provide some structure for our life. What we need today are scholars who possess both academic talents and the will, rooted in inner moral and religious conviction, to shoulder concrete social responsibilities. Such men can contribute much to the recovery and reconciliation of our splintered modern world through their personal and professional life, but these men must be found. They must be shown at an early age the responsibilities which await them. Above all a method of training must be developed which will equip them to meet these responsibilities. The Evangelisches Studienwerk desires to show young people the way to an education which has both depth and a close contact with reality. If students are to fulfill this academic task as Christians they must examine and prove their acts and decisions before the Word of God.[1]

East Zone Activities

The work of the Evangelical Academies in the East Zone of Germany was necessarily delayed because of economic and political conditions. The Church in Eastern Germany had heard about the Academies in the West, but they lacked the freedom of movement to work with professional groups and social questions. The work and life of the Church were restricted literally to the four walls of the church. Permission for other meetings was difficult to get. All conferences on issues touching political matters were strictly forbidden. Consequently, the Church in Eastern Germany found it impossible to engage herself in an open discussion with the "World" as had the Academies in the West. Her approach had to be restricted to meetings dealing purely with matters of faith and worship. Even then the possibility of free and open discussion was limited. Nevertheless, the Church in East Germany established some Academies as early as 1948.

The first of the East Zone Academies was the one founded by the Saxony-Anhalt Church under the general direction of Dr. Lother Kreyssig. Meetings were held in the Lutherhalle in Wittenberg. Conferences had been held here since 1934 for writers, architects, and lawyers. This description of conferences in the Saxony-Anhalt Academy was reported in a West Zone publication.

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[1] Evangelisch Studienwerk e.v., Studentenhaus Villigst, Brochure for Candidates, n.d.

> The conference room in Wittenberg is the late-gothic refectory of the Lutherhalle. The day begins with morning worship in the choir of the Stadtkirche before the Cranach altar. This is followed by the daily Bible study which is usually presented in the form of a discussion. The essential part of the academy work is discussion and much time is set aside for it. One or possibly two main lectures form the basis of this discussion. After the lectures, groups of twelve to fifteen people are formed so that much more personal opinions and experiences can be shared. These groups report on their findings to the main discussion which follows. Everybody relaxes during the informal "House Evening". Each day closes with evening worship in the "Luther Room" which is lighted with candles.[1]

The business office of the Academy is located in Wittenberg where Dr. Thulin is in charge. Meetings are also held in Ilsenburg, Kirchenburg, Bodenstein, Gernrode, Bad Salzelmen, and Erfurt. Evening lectures and discussions are also sponsored in many places. Since it was impossible for the Church leaders, already overloaded with duties, officially to give full time to these programs, the work was carried on under several leaders. Topics were chosen which avoided outward political questions but which sought, nevertheless, to deal with the problems of the worker, teacher, village life, theology, and science. The emphasis here is placed on deepening the responsibility of Christians within their occupations rather than dealing directly with the public issues of the day. Such themes as "School Children" (in a conference for parents),

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[1] Gerhard Kappner, "Evangelische Akademie," Zeitwende, XXII (August, 1950), 179.

"Dogma in Scientific Study," "The Gospel and Education" (a conference for teachers), "The Individual and Collective Structure of Today's Occupation," and the "Responsibility of Teachers" point to the underlying and far-reaching problems in the East Zone. In 1948 five conferences were held. This number was increased to twenty-nine by 1951. In 1952 forty-four conferences were scheduled.[1] Each year an Evangelical Academy Day is held at which reports are made concerning the various areas of Academy work. Such meetings have taken place in Halle (1951), Erfurt (1952), and Dessau (1953). Special emphasis is placed on the problems common to all men. Thus, for example, a conference was held in November, 1952, for members of town councils, church presbyteries, mayors, and pastors under the theme, "Our Common Responsibility: Man." In connection with the 1953 Academy Day the play, Jedermann, was presented in the Dessau Church.[2] Another part of the Saxony-Anhalt Academy program is the "Work Conference." Christianity and socialism are two of the subjects which have been studied and discussed.

> The discussion with genuine representatives of Marxism, scientific socialism and historical materialism has its special character. There are open arguments as well as earnest efforts to find understanding in specific issues. Here the academy does not seek merely to hold its own battle line with speeches and arguments. Her concern is rather to find a point where the deepest concerns of both groups will be taken seriously. The academy is concerned with persons and not with opinions. She seeks to discover how others conceive of reality and how they act, for she is concerned with that which decides the life and death of mankind.[3]

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[1] Neue Zeit (Berlin Ost), December 11, 1951.

[2] Report of Dr. Goern, Der Neue Weg (Halle/Saale), November 26, 1953.

[3] Kappner, loc. cit.

Although the East Zone Academies are not able to deal directly with the critical areas of secular life, the Academy leaders in the East Zone feel that there is some advantage in this. It has forced them to look deeper into personal and spiritual problems.

> Today we are questioned about God and the autonomy of scientific thought perhaps more than any generation before us. In Wittenberg today a world of unity and freedom still exists. But most people have been deprived of these by the multiplicity and bondage of their lives.[1]

The Thuringia Academy began its work in Eisenach in 1948 under direction of one of the Church officials, Pastor Schanze. Another Church official, Pastor Waldmann, later became the leader of this program. The conferences in the Thuringia Academy have dealt with such topics as "The Human Responsibility of the Christian," "Rejoice in Your Life," "Fashion and the Dance," and "Church and Sects." The statistics for 1953 show that twelve hundred people participated in the seventeen conferences with an additional thirteen hundred people attending individual lectures.[2] One third of these were young people from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. A third East Zone Academy was established on Reformation Day, 1949, in the Church of Saxony. This Academy was located in the Judenberg in Meisen. The work was begun under the sponsorship of Bishop Hahn of Saxony with Pastor Muntschick of the Meissen Cathedral as the director.

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[1] Lothar Kreyssig, "First Report of the Evangelical Academy Saxony-Anhalt" (Evangelical Academy Saxony-Anhalt, April, 1948), pp. 2-3.

[2] Neue Zeit (Berlin Ost), June 19, 1954.

In the spring of 1949 the Lutheran Churches of Thuringia, Saxony, and Mecklenburg, together with the Moravian "United Brethren" (Herrnhutter Bruederunitaet) and remnants of the Silesian Church organized the "Christian Work Community in the East."[1] This program was inaugurated to bring together those members of the Church with special artistic abilities. These people faced particularly hard economic and ideological pressure in Eastern Germany. Under the directorship of Pastor Otto Riedel work groups have been organized for people who work "with their hands, with words, and with sounds" (*Leute des Handes*, *Leute des Wortes*, *Leute des Tones*). This work has resulted in a number of exhibitions and organizations.

Evangelical Social Academy Friedewald

One of the prime objectives of the Evangelical Academies has been to bridge the gulf between the Church and labor. A specialized center for this problem was established in 1949. It is known as the Evangelical Social Academy Friedewald. This center is located in a beautiful, quiet park near the town of Betzdorf on the outskirts of the industrial area of Rhineland-Westphalia. It is in many ways a successor to the Evangelical Social School in Berlin-Spandau which had been founded on Wichern's ideas. The work in Berlin-Spandau came to an end in 1933 when the school was closed by the Nazis. The Friedewald Center was supported in its first years by the Inner Mission, Hilfswerk, and the Department of

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[1] Kappner, *loc. cit.*, p. 180.

Men's Work of EKID. It is not directly connected with any territorial church and seeks to reach the labor groups throughout all Western Germany.

> The new Social Educational Center tried to approach its work in the most modern way. The main emphasis of its work fell, as we have stated, in the sector of Labor Education, and here also in accordance with the proven Evangelical social principle: "help for self-help." But in addition it directed its efforts toward the many-layered world of industry, with its various professional groups, in order to do justice to all of the various aspects of modern industry. There was no hesitation that management should also be included in this.[1]

The work began with a conference for Protestant workers in October, 1949. Men were invited who held positions of responsibility in labor unions and industrial councils or who wished to prepare thereafter for such posts. This first course lasted four weeks (October 1-29, 1949) at a cost of only seventeen dollars for each participant. Classes were given in social-political economy, civics, management-labor problems, labor legislation, the history of the labor movement, the Youth and Men's Work of the Church, public speaking, and Church History. The conferences at Friedewald are designed as training courses and last usually three weeks. A special attempt is made to recruit promising young men and women in industry for this education program. Gradually through the alumni of the Friedewald Social Academy contact has been made with workers throughout Germany. Students who leave the Academy are urged to recruit others and send them to Friedewald. In this way a representative group of the labor class has been reached. The Academy seeks to send these back into their factories and unions better equipped to meet their tasks responsibly.

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[1] Gerhard Heilfurth, Church and Labor in Western Germany, trans. Franklin Littell (Guetersloh: Bertelsmann, 1955), p. 6.

> The academy sees its main task in the training, in the deepest sense, of the younger generation of the industrial labor organizations for public positions in industry and society. Special emphasis is placed on the education of young working men and women. The social academy has chosen a new way of teaching. A method of lively and unprejudiced discussion has been developed to supplement the teaching of basic material. This new approach consists of group work, round table discussions, and debates which give the participants experience in thinking and working together. The spiritual and principal concern of the social academy is to develop in these young workers a sense of social and civic responsibility and to open their eyes to the institutional problems involved in achieving social justice and human freedom. In this work two important goals are sought: (1) to overcome ethical neutralism and (2) to help the various elements active within labor to work together. It is particularly important that among the workers, who are, after all, the supporting class of our time, the consciousness of co-operative social responsibility be continually undergirded and strengthened.[1]

Small cell-in-industry groups of former participants in Friedewald courses and conferences are organized in various factories to maintain an "on the spot" contact between the workers and the Academy. Longer courses of several months duration are conducted for the special training of Church staff members concerned with social ethics. Some regular Academy-type conferences are also held for pastors, teachers, students, white-collar workers, secretaries, and employers.[2] In all such conferences workers are also included. Research work is carried on through regularly scheduled seminars dealing with specific labor problems. The training courses and conferences have dealt with the following topics: "Essence and Meaning of Marxism," "The new Social and Economic Order," "Problems of a Social Order," "The Christian Task in So-called Neutral Interest Groups," "The Modern Task of the Labor Union," "Is Full Employment Possible?" "Family, Industry and the State," and "The Right-to-Work Laws."[1]

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[1] "Evangelische Sozialakademie Friedewald," Die Mitarbeit, III (July, 1954), 23.

[2] "Evangelische Sozialakademie," Evangelisches Soziallexikon, ed. F. Karrenberg (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1954), pp. 914-15.

The Friedewald Social Academy works very closely with the Evangelical Action Committee for Labor Questions (Aktionsgemeinschaft fuer Arbeiterfragen organized in 1951), the Evangelical Workers' Association (which dates back to the nineteenth century), the various Church Men's Work offices of the German Churches, and Work Group IV of the Kirchentag. The Information Bulletin of the Friedewald Academy was succeeded in 1952 by Die Mitarbeit, the monthly publication of the Evangelical Labor Action Committee.

An Academy in Berlin

As early as 1945, Bishop Dibelius tried to persuade Eberhard Mueller to move the Bad Boll Academy to Berlin. But it was not until the Kirchentag meetings in Berlin in 1951 that an Evangelical Academy was established in that city. Previous to that time Prior Kurt Scharf of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church had conducted Academy conferences on a trial basis with meetings in various locations in the Eastern and Western Sectors in Berlin. The changes of location were made deliberately depending on the theme of the conference. Assisting in this work were Student Pastor Bethge, Superintendent Schroeter, Counsel for the Supreme Court Altmann, and Pastor Schmidt-Dissen.[2] These men were given the responsibility of preparing the program for the first year. Dr. Mueller-Gangloff was selected as Academy director. Under his leadership a model Academy conference was held in September, 1951, in Berlin-Weissensee.[1] The official opening of the Berlin Academy took place February 12, 1952, in the Haus der Kirche in Weissensee in the East Sector. At this opening conference it was pointed out that the 1951 Kirchentag had provided the inspiration for setting up an Academy between the zones of divided Germany.[2] The Berlin Academy was described as a "permanent Kirchentag" between East and West. In evaluating the role of the Berlin Kirchentag in the founding of the Academy the director wrote:

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[1] "Arbeits plan fuer das 2 Halbjahr 1954," Evangelische Sozialakademie Friedenwald, pp. 8-10.

[2] "Memorandum on the Establishment and Organization of an

> For Berlin it required the German Evangelical Kirchentag of 1951 and the tremendous response which it had in both the West and East to convince those most opposed and skeptical that here was an unescapable task of the greatest urgency. It was our overwhelming conviction that what had happened in the various Work Groups of the Berlin Kirchentag in impressive mass meetings must now be developed further in intensive individual and group encounters like that of the academy. In no case should the work involve only the consideration of the East Zone people and their problems. They would very quickly resent such patronization. The Kirchentag had demonstrated clearly that the participants from the East were not just on the receiving end, but had their own very valuable contributions to make to the discussion themes.[3]

The Berlin Academy continues under its peculiar circumstances to hold meetings in both sectors of Berlin. Dr. Mueller-Gangloff

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Evangelical Academy in Berlin," sent to officials of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church, November 12, 1951.

[1] Kirche in der Zeit, VI (November, 1951), 263. Cf. also Neue Zeit (Berlin Ost), December 2, 1951.

[2] Kirche in der Zeit, VII (March, 1952), 69.

[3] Erich Mueller-Gangloff, "Fruchtbare Gespraeche ueber die Zonengrenze," Das Parlament, V (October, 1955), 16.

directs the over-all work assisted by Professor Gerhard Koch in the West Sector and Superintendent Alfred Schmidt in the East Sector.

Other New Academies

The Rhineland Church at first opposed the Academy approach as instituted in Bad Boll and elsewhere, but the Church leaders were finally convinced of its importance.[1] The Rhineland-Westphalia Church held Academy conferences at first at the Christophorus Stift in Hemer, Friedewald, and Villigst. In 1950 alone sixty lectures were sponsored in these institutions.[2] However, in 1952 the Rhineland Church established its own Academy in Muelheim (Ruhr). This Academy was given the interesting title of "House of Encounter" (Haus der Begegnung). The center was dedicated in December, 1952, but the actual work did not begin until January 1, 1953. Two directors were appointed to manage the program at Muelheim. They were Martin Donath, a political-economist from Bad Boll, and Dr. Hans-Christoph von Hase, pastor of the Marburg University Church and a cousin of Dietrich Bonhoeffer.[3] The first year fifty-three conferences were held with 2700 participants. Because of its location in the Ruhr area, the Muelheim Academy placed a special emphasis on reaching the miners. Eleven conferences were held the first year for this group.[4] Muelheim is not as specialized, however, as Friedewald. It serves the needs of both the Rhineland and Westphalia Churches and holds many different kinds of conferences. At the close of the first year director von Hase reported:

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[1] Interview with Pastor Hans Stroh, Study Director, Bad Boll, June 2, 1954.

[2] Handwerks-Zeitung (Hagen), January 15, 1954.

[3] Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 128.

[4] Westfalen-Zeitung (Bielefeld), November 1, 1950.

> The first year of work in Muelheim has demonstrated that the task of the academies in the Protestant Church has by no means come to an end, but rather is only beginning to take effect in breadth and depth. The academies enjoy such a good reputation that many leading people came to Muelheim even before we proved ourselves. We have experienced daily that many people, especially those who are on the periphery of the church, are earnestly seeking new encounters and discussions.[1]

The Muelheim Academy is located on an old estate in the midst of the Duisburger-Muelheim Forest Preserve, and has guest accommodations for fifty-three. Other meetings are also held in this center in addition to the regular Academy conferences. The Social-ethical Department of the Rhineland Church, special groups of the Coal Mining Industry, officials from Bonn and various departments of the Church reserve this Academy for their own meetings.[2]

This completes the survey of the established Evangelical Academies in Germany. There are other Academy programs, however, which might be noted. Nearly every Territorial Church in East and West Germany has organized some kind of Academy work. Some of these cannot support a permanent center because of their size. Nevertheless, by using the facilities of nearby Academies or renting lecture halls and retreat centers they have been able to develop programs of retreats and public lectures. In the Bremen Church, for example, a program entitled, "The Evangelical Work

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[1] Kirche in der Zeit, IX (February, 1954), 24.

[2] "Haus der Begegnung," Program for the second half of 1953 (Evangelical Academy Muelheim, 1953).

Group for Cultural Problems" has been in operation since 1950. The work is divided into four departments: (1) Christian literature, (2) social-economic problems, (3) schools and education, and (4) academic questions for scientists, physicians, and philosophers. Lectures have been given under this program by Bishop Lilje, Minister of the Interior Heinemann, and Visser t'Hooft of the World Council of Churches. In the Oldenburg Church an Academy program was begun by Bishop Jacobi with a week-end conference for pastors, physicians, business men, and professors. It was held in the North Sea resort of Dangast.[1] Special conferences were also organized for workers. By mid-1954 seven such meetings had taken place. The theme of one such conference was "Must One Leave his Soul at the Factory Door?"[2] The director of the Academy in Oldenburg is Dr. E. Rosenboom and the Academy office is located in Jever. The Palatinate United Protestant Church has established an Academy program in Speyer under the directorship of Dean Karl Koehler. Academy work has also been undertaken by the Mecklenburg Church. This program is under the leadership of Pastor Gerhard Bosinski who works through the central Academy office in the Guestrow Cathedral.

In the East Zone a Research Academy similar to Friedewald has been established. It is located in Ilsenburg and its program is under the direction of a board of trustees headed by Dr.

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[1] Kirche in der Zeit, IX (October, 1954), 214.

[2] Nordwestdeutsche Rundschau (Itzehoe), June 16, 1954.

Soehngen. Some of the themes of the research conferences held at Ilsenburg have been, "Faith and Knowledge," "The World as Creation--Christian Faith and Modern Natural Science," and "Man's Place in the Universe."[1]

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[1] Walter Dress, "Evangelische Akademien--oder Volkshochschulen," Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, IV (September 15, 1950), 258-59.

APPENDIX III

FACILITIES AND FINANCES

The expanding program of the Evangelical Academies is evidenced in the response the invitation to Academy conferences met with throughout Germany. Typical of the situation in all the Academies is the report of the Hermannsburg Rundbrief of November, 1950.

> The number of people registering for our conferences is increasing steadily. There is simply not enough room for them in our building. Tomorrow 110 young people from seventeen to twenty eight years of age will be sitting in our lecture room. However, we have had to request another eighty not to come this time but to wait for the next youth conference in a few months.[1]

By June, 1952, Hermannsburg had counted over ten thousand guests at its 166 conferences.[2] In 1953, after eight years of programs, Bad Boll had held 360 conferences with a total of twenty-five thousand participants.[3] By the time of its tenth anniversary in September, 1955, the total number of Bad Boll conferences was to rise to 558 with 38,575 participants.[4] In Hesse-Nassau the statistics of June, 1954, read: 220 conferences with eleven thousand people taking part. Expansion of facilities was necessary. This meant not only new building programs but also in some cases a change of location. The Guntershausen Academy was moved in

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[1] Hermannsburg Rundbrief, XIV (November, 1950), 13.

[2] Adolf Wischmann, "Die Evangelische Akademien," Universitas, VIII (January, 1953), 213.

[3] Schwaebische Zeitung (Leutkirch), January 8, 1954.

[4] Kirche in der Zeit, X (October, 1955), 223.

[5] Interview with Dr. Hans Kallenbach, Director of the Evangelical Academy Hesse-Nassau, Frankfurt, May 31, 1954.

November, 1952, to new quarters prepared for it by the Church of Kurhessen-Waldeck. The new location was the Gesundbrunnen Castle (renamed "The Little Schoenburg Castle") in Hofgeismar. This time the Academy was officially and confidently dedicated by Bishop Wuestermann on November 19, 1952, as a permanent retreat center of the Kurhessen-Waldeck Church.[1] At about the same time the Hermannsburg Academy was moved to its newly constructed quarters in Loccum near Wuenstorf. The modern buildings which were to house the Academy staff, guests, and the offices of the Hannover Pastoral Conference and Catechism Instruction were the first of the attractive and comfortable centers to be constructed by the Academies. The Loccum Academy was dedicated on December 13, 1952, and held its first conference on December 29.[2] Both the Hofgeismar and Loccum Academies were strategically located just a few hundred feet from Prediger Seminaren (Seminaries for Preaching) where theological students who had just completed their university work spent from one to two years in more intense and practical studies. These moves increased the space for guests, but the neighboring hotels still had to be used to handle all the conference participants. In 1954 an additional guest unit was added to the Loccum Academy. In Baden the Charlottenruhe Haus, home of the Herrnalb Academy, was enlarged with the addition of a badly needed lecture room. The first Academy conference in the completely remodeled and modernized center was held in May, 1953. The work of the

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[1] Hofgeismar Rundbrief, IX (January, 1953), 3.

[2] Loccum Rundbrief, XXIII (January, 1953), 3.

Hesse-Nassau Academy found a more permanent center in the Assenheim Castle near Friedberg. This was formerly the religious center for the Michael Brotherhood.[1] Later more ample and very modern quarters were built in Arnoldshain near Schmitten in the Taunus Mountains. These were occupied in 1954. Impressive new buildings were also constructed in Bad Boll to house guests as well as the offices of the Bad Boll Academy, the Directors' Conference of the Evangelical Academies in Germany, the European Directors' Conference, the Study Commission, the Protestant Action Committee for Workers' Questions, and the Christian Press Academy.[2] (Bad Boll has a combined administrative, office, and domestic staff of eighty-three.) These new quarters were dedicated at an impressive ceremony on September 29, 1955, the Feast of St. Michael, and the tenth anniversary of the founding of the first Evangelical Academy. The Academies now offered to their guests some of the most comfortable facilities to be found anywhere in Germany. The modern architecture and tasteful interior decoration were the result of studied attempts to place the Academy in the midst of contemporary life. There were places where men and women of this age could relax easily while discussing their common problems.

The work of the Evangelical Academy has been supported largely through gifts. This is in marked contrast to many of the institutions of the Church which are financed to a great extent through Church taxes. This financial independence has been an important factor in giving the Academies considerably more freedom than the local congregations. We see then that the Academy's source of financial support is of strategic significance. One Academy publication made this observation:

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[1] Quatember, XVII (Easter, 1953), 127.

[2] Koller, op. cit., p. 46.

> Freedom is an inner necessity for an institution whose function is free discussion between different groups. For this reason the question about the financial basis of the Academy's work is of fundamental importance. Any project which is financed largely or even exclusively by one group will develop a one-sided dependence on this group. This is even the case when the financing agent is the Church. There is a great danger that financial support is linked with the demand to exclude certain themes or speakers from the discussion or to deal with the problems at hand in a partisan manner. The success of the Evangelical Academy, however, depends upon the feeling of each participant that there is absolutely fair play. For this reason the Evangelical Academy endeavored from the beginning to keep itself free from any one-sided political, economic or even ecclesiastical control.[1]

Until the currency reform of 1948 money was plentiful and Academies had no great difficulty. Gifts were generous and the participants were able to pay the conference costs. After the currency reform, however, the Academies suffered from the right economy. Several conferences had to be cancelled. For some months very few gifts were received and a very critical situation existed. Many people could not come to the conferences for lack of money. In addition, Church budgets were also being slashed. Despite these financial difficulties the Church of Hannover felt the Academy program was so important that an additional Academy director was added to the Hermannsburg staff at this time.[3] It was at this time that help came from the outside. Up to 1948 the Academies had received no substantial aid from abroad. But during the financial crisis of that year an unexpected gift was received from American Churches.

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[1] Koller, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[2] *Beilage zur Halbmonatsschrift fuer Arbeit und Besinnung*, II (September 1, 1948), 8.

[3] *Hermannsburg Rundbrief*, VII (November, 1948), 7.

In 1949 Eberhard Mueller made a trip to the United States where he made contacts with various Protestant groups and received several substantial grants.[1] Much of the money from abroad was distributed to the Academies through their Territorial Churches. In 1949, for example, the Hemer Academy received a gift from the National Lutheran Council plus a number of gifts from other church bodies. Bad Boll was given a large gift of food immediately after the currency reform and shortly thereafter also received a new car. Various government agencies also began to support the Academies. The Federal Youth Plan pays 3 D. M. per day for each youth under twenty-five years of age attending a conference which can be classified as youth education. This same government agency also gives annual grants to the various Academies on the basis of the percentage of youth education work supported by their local budgets. The Bad Boll Academy has estimated that twenty-five per cent of its income comes from the Church of Wuertemberg. The remaining support comes from various sources, none of which exceed 10 per cent of the budget. Three government programs contribute a total of 22 per cent. A further 7 per cent is contributed by a number of governmental and semi-governmental funds. Another 7 per cent of the budget comes from a private foundation whose aim is to further democracy. Friends of the Academy contribute 17 per cent through gifts and the remaining 22 per cent comes from the contributions and fees of conference participants.[1] The conference fees at Bad Boll range from 2.50 D.M. to 10 D.M. per day for board and room. Students pay the minimum. In some Academies they receive free board and room. It costs the Academy, however, an average of 8.50 D.M. per day per person for board and room plus an additional 1 to 5 D.M. per person for conference expenses.[2]

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[1] Letter from Eberhard Mueller, director of the Evangelical Academy Bad Boll, December 19, 1949.

The new building programs of the Academies have been supported both through grants of the respective Territorial Churches and outside gifts. The Loccum Academy was built at a cost of about 1,500,000 D.M. One half of this was covered by gifts of which the largest was 100,000 D.M. from a large industrial firm. A gift of 250,000 D.M. came from a private fund of U.S. High Commissioner McCloy. One tenth of the building costs was paid by the Hannover Church and the remainder was covered by loans. Loccum has had considerable financial support from industries in the Ruhr. On the occasion of the famous October, 1951, conference in Loccum between leading industrial leaders and Chancellor Adenauer, Bishop Lilje announced to the group, "There is no church without a collection." He urged these men to liberally support the important work of the Evangelical Academy. He passed his hat around and it was returned to him containing 100,000 D.M. In Bad Boll one of the new buildings was financed through the efforts of the Goeppingen Township in which the Academy is located.[1] In the East Zone such financial support is, of course, impossible. The participants in conferences in the East Zone must bear a larger part of the costs than those in Western Germany.[2]

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[1] Koller, op. cit., p. 47.

[2] Interview with Mr. Scholz, Business Manager of the Evangelical Academy Bad Boll, June 2, 1954.

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[1] Schwaebischer Tagblatt (Tuebingen), March 29, 1954.

[2] "Evangelische Akademie," Zeitwende, XXII (August 15, 1950), 179.

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